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THE

CHRISTIAN

AMBASSADOR

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AND

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THE

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR.

ART. I.—DALE ON THE ATONEMENT.

BY THE REV. ROBERT HARRISON.

ON no subject within the range of Christian theology has such a keen and protracted controversy prevailed as on the nature of the Atonement made by Jesus Christ our Lord for the sins of the world. This controversy dates far back, and may be said to have had its origin in the attempt to construct a theological system on purely scientific principles. In no period, perhaps, during the last fourteen or fifteen hundred years has this subject provoked so much intelligent inquiry as in our own times. There are some people who would gladly hail the termination of this Atonement controversy, believing that it is without any good results; while others believe that the mischief that may appear to come of a free and faithful examination of such a profoundly important subject is infinitely less than the good which accrues therefrom. By such an investigation we come to deeper and broader views of the mystery of godliness. And, instead of looking upon it as injurious to the peace and prosperity of the Christian Church, we regard it as a most healthy sign, and as an omen of good. It evidences at least that the grandest doctrine of revelation has not lost its hold upon intelligent thought, and that there are persons amongst us who are not yet weary in their efforts to reach what they deem a more satisfactory solution of the great question, How God can and does forgive the sins of the sinner because of the sufferings and death of our Lord Jesus Christ. While, therefore, for the present this controversy cannot but result in the birth and promulgation of a great variety of views*—views in each of which some good may be found—it would

* We say, "views," because many who profess to give us a theory of the Atonement only present some one aspect or side of the great work done by our Lord Jesus Christ. Hence their theory, so called, is only an imperfect representation of the whole question. It is maintained by some "that Christ's effectual testimony to the faultless wisdom, rectitude, and goodness of His Heavenly Father against all the injurious and blasphemous insinuations implied in the apostacy of mankind," constitutes the essence of the Atonement. Who does not see that while it is this, it is infinitely more than this?"—(*Thoughts on the Essence of Christ's Atonement.* By W. Froggart. Hodder and Stoughton.)

be wrong were we not to acknowledge that it is helping us to grasp with increasing tenacity the grand fact of the Atonement. Amid the conflict of human theories we cling the closer to the truth that "Christ died for us according to the Scriptures."

It is with unfeigned pleasure we turn to Mr. Dale's volume in order to lay before you the theory which he propounds, and the arguments by which it is supported. In passing allow us to say that Mr. Dale approaches the subject in such a spirit of deference to the views of others that what he has to say about his own theory cannot but gain the respectful attention of even those who differ from him. He seeks to gain no advantage that is not fairly and honestly won. He evidences a strong desire—we might say determination—to find out the truth, and to base his philosophy of the Atonement on the simple statements of the sacred Scriptures. He is fully conscious of the difficulties which beset the path of him who seeks to present such a theory of the Atonement as will adequately cover the facts of the case and answer the inquiries of the human mind. But while he freely acknowledges this he fearlessly betakes himself to the task of dealing with those difficulties, and believes that the conception of the nature of Christ's Atonement which he develops in the ninth and tenth lectures accounts, and accounts naturally, for all the various expressions which are used by our Lord Himself and His Apostles in describing the unique character and effects of Christ's death; and, moreover, "that this conception justifies those representations of the death of Christ, the substantial truth of which receives strong confirmation from their general acceptance by the Christian Church during eighteen hundred years."* We shall have occasion to notice the nature of this conception of the death of Jesus Christ, and see how far that death not only manifested the infinite mercy of God, but really and truly effected reconciliation between God and man.†

We wish it to be distinctly understood that in dealing with Mr. Dale's book we do not intend to dwell at any great length on the many doctrinal points aside from the main question which he so ably discusses. Regard both for your‡ time and patience deters me from venturing upon such a task. We purpose to confine ourselves to two or three questions, a right understanding of which is essentially necessary to a just treatment of the all-absorbing inquiry as to what is the nature of the Atonement. For a long time we have been convinced that it is impossible to give anything like a satisfactory answer to this question without first considering the

* P. 43. † P. 32.

‡ It may be well to say that these pages were prepared at the request of the Ministers' Mutual Improvement Association in the Hull District, and read before them at Driffield, November 14th, 1876. Also that the references are to the demy 8vo. edition of Mr. Dale's work.

nature and punishment of sin, as well as the nature of the person of Christ, together with the relation He sustains to the moral law, of which sin is the transgression. These lie at the very foundation of the subject. In fact, we cannot see how it is possible to arrive at a proper conception of the redemption which has been made for mankind until we have first considered the relation of that redemption to the Divine-human Person of our Lord Jesus Christ.

If, therefore, these questions are of such vital importance, it follows that our theory of the Atonement will be satisfactory or otherwise according to the views we hold respecting them. Our theory of the nature of sin will determine our theory of the Atonement which Christ made on the cross to save mankind from its guilt and punishment.

That Jesus Christ died for sin is a doctrine everywhere taught us in the New Testament. Not only is it found in the writings of the Apostles—interwoven as it were into the very fabric of their letters and addresses—it constitutes the very groundwork of all Christ's doctrinal teaching. It would be unjust to infer from this fact, as some have done, that the idea of sin, as set forth in Christian theology, was the invention of Jesus Christ and His Apostles for the sole purpose of proclaiming a glorious remedy for it in the sufferings and death of the cross. So far from its being the creation of Christianity, Christianity professes to deal with it as an evil with which the human race is universally afflicted. Christian truth appeals to man as being painfully oppressed with the consciousness of guilt—a consciousness which is rendered more and more distressing in proportion as he comes to know the nature and consequences of sin. For his comfort the gospel declares that Jesus Christ came to take away sin by the sacrifice of Himself; to destroy the works of the devil; to die the just for the unjust to bring us to God; to redeem us from the curse of the law, Him being made a curse for us; to shed His blood for the remission of sins; to give His life a ransom for many; and to be made sin for us, though He knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him.

But what and whose was the sin with which Jesus Christ had so much to do, and for which, according to the Scriptures, He suffered and died?

The answer to this question is neither difficult to find nor far to fetch. The sins for which Christ died are the sins of mankind; they are our sins. He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world. By His sufferings He has redeemed us from the ruinous condition in which sin had placed us. The Apostle Paul dwells at some considerable length on the dire effects of the first transgression,—amongst

which effects we find the sad reversal of that harmonious relationship which existed between man and his Maker before the fall. "Wherefore as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." . . . . "But not as the offence; so also is the free gift. For if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many. And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift; for the judgment was by one to condemnation." . . . . "Therefore, as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life."* From these and other passages of Scripture it is quite clear that the human family has been brought under condemnation because of the first transgression. Not that we are to interpret this sentence of condemnation as presupposing personal guilt on the part of those who have not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, but as signifying that on account of one single sin mankind were to suffer the loss of those spiritual blessings which were enjoyed by Adam as our federal head before the fall. When he fell we fell also, making his loss our loss too.

Such, then, being the state in which sin has placed the human race, the question whether this state of alienation from God can be reversed becomes of vital moment to us. Is the pardon of sin possible? does the nature of God's moral government admit of the guilty being freed from the consequences of transgression? and if he can, by what means can such freedom be effected without infringing upon the rights and authority of that moral government? Does justice demand the punishment of the guilty? And if it does, how can this demand be satisfied without making the guilty suffer? Is there a way by which the sinner may be saved from the consequences of his sin, and brought into the enjoyment of those blessings which were lost to him and to all by the sin of our first parents? It is necessary to deal with these questions first, because if the pardon of sin is not possible, we are precluded at once from dealing with the nature and possibility of the Atonement.

It is with this question, whether the remission of sins is possible, that Mr. Dale deals in his eighth lecture. Having discovered, in the history and teachings of Jesus Christ, as well as in the writings of the Apostles James and John and Peter and Paul, that there is a direct relation between the death of Christ and the remission of sins, he proceeds to investigate the nature of that relation, and to discover, if possible, the principles and laws which it illustrates. While he regards the illustration of the fact of the Atonement of greater moment than the construction of a theory of it, he never-

* Rom. v. 12, 15, 16, 18.

theless holds it to be of transcendent speculative importance to inquire into the grounds of the relation between the death of Christ and the remission of sins.*

As to the bare inquiry, Whether sins can be forgiven, it were easy to find an affirmative answer in those passages of the New Testament where the prerogative of Christ to forgive transgression is clearly set forth;† as well as in the fact that wherever the Apostles went they spoke both to Jew and Gentile of the remission of sins "as one of the chief elements of the salvation to be secured by believing in Christ; and that in their letters to the Christian Churches they spoke of the remission of sins as one of the chief elements of the salvation which those who believed in Christ had already received."‡ But true as this is, and satisfactory as true, we are nevertheless glad that Mr. Dale does not ignore those arguments used by a certain class of teachers against such a doctrine—arguments which find their chief support in a strange misconception of the relation which God sustains to the moral laws of the universe. If the remission of sins is, as Dr. John Young says, the moral removal and not the judicial pardoning of man's offences, we cannot see how the doctrine of Atonement, as set forth by Mr. Dale, is at all possible. Such is the nature and character of the laws by which moral agents are governed that the penalties of sin must of necessity fall upon those who commit it; there is therefore no escape for the sinner; God Himself is unable to alter the course of the broken law. Sin must be punished, and punished, too, in the person of the sinner. There is only one way by which God can uphold the law and preserve its authority inviolate, and that is by inflicting upon the guilty the amount of suffering which his sins merit. As the Governor of the universe, He is laid under the obligation of punishing the transgressor. But let the Doctor speak for himself in the passage which treats of the immutable laws of the spiritual universe. He says, "Defender or avenger they have none, and they need none. Without aid from any quarter, they avenge themselves, and exact, and continue without fail to exact, so long as the evil remains, *the amount of penalty, visible or invisible*, to the veriest jot or tittle which the deed of violation deserves, essentially and perfectly wise and right, in the case of the obedient and disobedient alike. There is no formal trial of the criminal, there is no need for investigating the question and determining the amount of guilt or innocence. Without inquiry and without effort, each case discovers and exposes itself. No judicial verdict is pronounced, and no officer of justice is appointed to carry out the sentence; but at once, punishment or reward,

* P. 313.
† See Matt. ix. 2, 6; xxvi. 28; Luke vii. 48-50; xxiv. 45-47.
‡ P. 315.

visible or invisible, or both, dispenses itself, and in the amount in which either is merited. Spiritual laws are self-acting; with all their penalties and sanctions, they are immediately self-acting, and without the remotest possibility of failure or mistake." From this theory of the spiritual laws of the universe it is evident that there can be no pardon for transgression but by the transgressor bearing the punishment due to his transgression, which would be no pardon at all. We cannot even suffer for one another, for each must suffer "the amount of penalty—visible or invisible—to the veriest jot or tittle, which the deed of violation deserves," because those "spiritual laws are self-acting; with all their penalties and sanctions they are immediately self-acting, and without the remotest possibility of failure or mistake." It is plain that in a world where such laws obtain an atonement is impossible; and if there is no atonement there can be no forgiveness of sins, because an atonement is only possible where, instead of the sinner being punished for his sins, someone else is made, or willingly undertakes, to bear the punishment he deserves. This is evidently the meaning of what St. Paul says in 2 Cor. v. 21: "For God made Him (Christ) to be sin for us who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him." But St. Paul's teaching can find no place in the theory of the spiritual laws of the universe as set forth by Dr. Young; and to preach the forgiveness of sins by Jesus Christ is to proclaim a doctrine which can only tantalise man's awakened conscience, seeing that the laws of which sin is the transgression are independent of the Divine will; that "as they were not created, they cannot be annulled or altered even by the Almighty." Henceforth we must look to those laws we have violated, and not to God for the removal of our offences—which removal can only take place when we have endured every jot and tittle of the punishment which our sins deserve. "All that God can do," says Mr. Dale, following Dr. Young's theory to its legitimate conclusion, "for the sinner is to make such appeals to the sluggish conscience and corrupt heart as shall restore to the one its authority and vigour, and inspire the other with a hatred of sin and a love of goodness. God has resources for His great work which we cannot command; but His work is the same in kind as that which is being done by all who are striving to make men better. He is just as unable as we are to say, 'Thy sins be forgiven thee.' The penalty must come down. It lies in the essential nature of things that it must come down. Ever and ever justice inflicts an inevitable penalty, and exacts the completest satisfaction. God simply looks on. The vast machine of the moral universe is self-acting. In no proper sense is God the moral Ruler or Judge of men."*

* P. 319.

The theory of Dr. Young is the opposite of that held by the older Calvinists. He maintains that the laws of the moral universe are independent of the Divine will; they teach that the Divine will is the source of the moral laws. To him justice is such a tremendous, eternal, and necessary fact that God Himself cannot set it aside; that God is as powerless to forgive sin as He is to reverse or even modify the eternal and necessary distinction between good and evil; to them it appeared possible for God to devise a way by which the authority of the broken law could be maintained, and that while the guilty were pardoned instead of being punished, the ends of justice might be met. Are there no means of magnifying the law without the eternal condemnation of the sinner? The answer to this question will be given by and bye.

Mr. Dale justly maintains that so far from its being true that the penalties of sin are uniformly and necessarily inflicted "to the veriest jot or tittle which the deed of violation deserves," the actual facts of human life unmistakably prove that these very penalties are frequently "evaded, escaped, or alleviated." We all know that sentence against an evil work is not speedily executed; that many persons who have been guilty of as dark and dreadful crimes as ever marred the page of history have managed to escape the immediate consequences through some well-laid scheme, or by the resources and privileges which wealth and power placed at their disposal. It is a fact too patent to need proof, that the wicked too frequently prosper notwithstanding their wickedness; and that in those cases where men either evade or escape for the present the penalties due to their sins we see no evidence of their suffering more pain or compunction of conscience. The confirmed criminal feels less self-reproach and shame —whether he has hitherto escaped the just punishment of his crimes or is confined in some common jail—than the youth who tremblingly assays to do his first wrong act. It is in vain, therefore, that the supporters of Dr. Young's theory of the self-acting nature of the spiritual laws of the universe attempt to strengthen their position by supposing that "those whose offences are most numerous and most aggravated suffer most keenly from the stings of conscience." For conscience in such cases "becomes feebler and feebler as men continue in sin, and those who ought to feel the greatest shame for wrong-doing feel the least. With augmented guilt there is almost uniformly diminished sensibility to the moral sufferings with which the consciousness of guilt ought to be followed."

Not only is the untenableness of Dr. Young's theory evidenced when it is considered in the light of the facts of human life: it is found to be contrary to the uniform teaching of the Old Testament Scriptures. It is not from them that we would ever be likely

to learn that the laws of the spiritual universe are self-acting and independent of the Divine will; or that He who created and sustains all things merely watches and approves the perfect manner in which rewards and punishments are apportioned by those independent moral laws. He is represented as punishing the old world by sending a flood of water, the cities of the plain by sending a judgment of fire, the Egyptians by destroying their first-born, and the Israelites who left Egypt by excluding them from the Land of Promise. "The idea throughout," says Mr. Dale, "whatever value may be attached to the history, is too clear to be misapprehended: it was the Jewish faith that God is on the side of righteousness, and that positive punishments are inflicted by His own hand on those that sin."* In the following passages of the New Testament this doctrine is not only taught, but it is also taught in connection with the fact that Jesus Christ lays claim to the authority and responsibility of final judgment. (See Matt. xvi. 27; John v. 22; Acts x. 42; xvii. 31; xxiv. 25; Rom. xiv. 10; 2 Cor. v. 10; 2 Tim. iv. 1.)

It is evident that Dr. Young has failed to distinguish between those ethical laws which ask for the free and loyal obedience of the human will, and those laws of nature which operate in spheres from which all freedom is necessarily excluded. Natural laws need no avenger, while the moral laws under which we live may be defied and disobeyed. The penalties of ethical laws are not always and instantaneously inflicted. There is a very important sense in which the structural laws of man's moral and spiritual nature are self-acting, as is proved from the fact that when a man sins against them he suffers a degradation of his moral and spiritual faculties. "Defender and avenger they have none, and they need none." But what Mr. Dale trys to show is, not that ethical and natural laws are in no wise self-acting, but that they are (especially the ethical) under the control of the Divine will, and also that instead of the penalties of those laws being always and immediately inflicted, they are sometimes evaded, escaped, or alleviated. "It is a law," says Mr. Dale, "that men should be truthful, just, kindly, and devout; but large numbers of men are untruthful, unjust, cruel and profane," and, therefore, there is no foundation for the supposition that the law which requires a man to tell the truth has been obeyed simply because he suffers the consequences of his lie, for it may be that in suffering for wrong doing he may rebel all the more. The precepts of moral law are no more self-acting than are the principles on which they rest. They require the free concurrence of the human will which necessarily implies that they may be resisted. And seeing that the penalties of the moral law require the full concurrence of the will of God, it follows that they may not only

* P. 327.

be resisted by God, but they cannot be said to be self-acting in the same sense and to the same degree as the theory of Dr. Young implies they are. Hence to maintain that the complete penalty due to a violation of those laws is immediately inflicted is a huge mistake —a mistake that would never have been made had not "those laws which ought to guide, but which often fail to guide, the conduct of persons," been confounded with "those laws which determine the sequence of phenomena."

While there is nothing in the theory which Mr. Dale propounds respecting ethical laws, and the relation which God sustains to them to render the remission of sins impossible, the theory which he so ably refutes—the theory which makes those laws independent of the Divine will—cannot in any sense be reconciled with the doctrine that God has power on earth to forgive sins. We wonder not that those who hold that the remission of sins is the moral removal of man's offences, and not the judicial pardoning of them, should cease to make that broad distinction between justification and sanctification so clearly made in the writings of St. Paul. Dr. Bushnell maintains that when we speak of how it is that God forgives sins we speak of how it is that God accomplishes the restoration of man's fallen character. But the questions of man's justification and sanctification are as distinct as it is possible for two questions to be. And there are good reasons for this distinction—reasons which lie in the fact that man has not only been brought into a state of condemnation by sin—exposed to the wrath of God—but deprived of those spiritual blessings which bring freedom from sin and fitness for fellowship with our Maker. Many who hold the moral theory of the Atonement find it necessary to ignore the fact that before man can be restored to the moral image of God, he must first be delivered from the condemnation of the broken law. In other words, he must be redeemed before he can be renewed. An objective justification necessarily implies objective condemnation. "It is one thing," says Mr. Dale, "to receive the Divine pardon, it is another to receive the Divine image. The first is the initial grace granted unto the penitent sinner, the second is the glory of the perfected saint. That in the Divine order the forgiveness of sin, when sin is first confessed and forsaken, is always associated with the new birth in which the life of God is given to man . . . . is not only true; it is so true that their inseparable association as the two great elements of the Christian redemption has been asserted in varying forms indeed, but with unbroken unanimity, and with strenuous earnestness by the theologians and preachers of every church, of every country, and of every age. They always go together; but they go together, and they are not the same.*

* P. 337.

The remission of sins is therefore something more than a "kind of formality, a verbal discharge that carries practically no discharge at all." It is necessarily something more than this, because sin is a personal act, and as such cannot have any existence independent of the sinner. And if there is this inseparable connection between sin and the person who commits it we cannot see how God can be angry with the thing done, and not be angry with him who has done it. The wrath of God against sinners is more than a figure of speech. With some the difficulty of believing in an objective Atonement lies here. And it may be said that the gulf which divides those who hold an objective theory from those who maintain the subjective theory of the Atonement commences at this point. To the latter the idea of God being angry with the sinner is deemed contrary to the Divine nature and character as well as inconsistent with those manifestations of the Divinec ompassion witnessed in the life, and sufferings, and death of Jesus Christ. While to the former it is regarded as being both consistent with the nature and character of God, and what we might expect, seeing that He loves righteousness and hates iniquity. Anger against wrong doing and wrong doers is God-like. "It is," as Mr. Dale says, "a just and noble emotion. It is the attribute of the strongest and most generous natures. Both in the Old Testament and the New it is very frequently ascribed to God, and the revelation of God in Christ would have been incomplete if the indignation of Christ had never been provoked by the sins of men. Anger within certain limits is not inconsistent with love. Indeed, the measure of our love for others is often the measure of our anger against them when they do wrong."* God must be angry with the sinner; He cannot be at peace with wrong doers any more than with wrong doing. If it were otherwise, there would be an end to all justice. The Divine anger against sin finds its highest expression in the death of Jesus Christ.

But it is at this point that the most important question of all turns up for consideration. If the forgiveness of sin is possible, *how is it possible?* It is not enough in discussing this subject to simply say that Jesus Christ undertook our cause, and for us suffered and died, and that on this account we receive the remission of our sins. For even when we have made such a statement we but start another with which we are compelled to deal. What was there in the sufferings and death of Christ to constitute a sufficient reason for the free exercise of the Divine mercy in remitting the sins of mankind? The answer we give to this question will be our theory of the Atonement. If we say that the sufferings and death of Christ were simply intended to show the awful character of sin, and to fill the hearts of men with a feeling of dread on account of

* P. 341.

their sin, and the method which God has adopted to win men to faith and love in order that they may attain to the life of God, we at once touch the core of what is called the moral theory. This theory has much to commend it; but all that is commendable about it is found in the theory of which it is regarded as the opposite. The moral theory is only a half truth. It is not a full-orbed view of the work of Christ. It is an imperfect interpretation of Christ's life, sufferings, and death. We who hold an objective Atonement regard the death of Jesus Christ as God's grand appeal to the human heart quite as much as do our opponents; but we look upon it as something more than this. How much more we shall see ere we close our remarks.

The supporters of the substitutionary view of the work of our Lord Jesus Christ have been accused of having first invented it, and then strenuously sought to make it harmonise with their rigid theories concerning Divine justice. In fact it has been maintained that but for those views of God's justice the doctrine of an objective Atonement would never have had an existence. But is the accusation just? Nothing can very well have less foundation on which to rest, for instead of its being an invention of Christian theologians, in order to satisfy the exigencies of a theory, the history of the Church shows that the minds of the Church's best thinkers have been exercised to find out a theory of the Atonement which would square with the idea of substitution so frequently associated in the Scriptures with the death of Christ. During the first hundred and fifty years of the Christian era it is evident that no attempt was made to explain how the death of Christ was the ground on which God forgives sin. We are indebted to Irenæus in the West, and to Origen in the East for the first effort in the direction of a settlement of the question. Most of the Fathers were apparently satisfied—Augustine among the rest—with the grotesque and degrading view that the price of Christ's blood was paid to the devil, and that thereby the human race was redeemed from the power of the evil one. Gregory Nazianzen took just the opposite side, and maintained that it was God the Father who received the sacrifice made by His Son, not, as he says, "because He Himself demanded or needed it, but for the sake of the Divine government of the universe, and because man must be sanctified through the incarnation of the Son of God." With certain modifications these views held a prominent place, and exerted a considerable influence over the theology of the Christian Church for a long period. Revolting as is one of them, it clearly proves that those who held it firmly believed in the reality of the objective bearing of the Atonement made by Jesus Christ.* Anselm's theory differs widely from the views generally held by

* P. 277.

the Fathers. And it is when we come to consider the various theories which have been set forth during the past centuries that we see verified the truth of the statement which we made early in this paper, viz., that our view or theory of sin would determine to a great extent our theory of the Atonement. According to Anselm, sin was not a crime committed against those moral laws which God is bound to maintain, but an offence against God's personal majesty, love, and goodness. Sin is nothing more than the not giving to God His due. Anselm did not, however, fall into the error of Duns Scotus by maintaining that the moral laws were the expression of God's arbitrary will, and that therefore all moral distinctions are contingent upon the Divine pleasure. Consistent with the view that sin is a personal offence, he held that the Atonement was an act of homage made by Jesus Christ to God, by which His absolute supremacy is recognised, which act of homage is also regarded as having such transcendent merit that it outweighs the sins of mankind, and presents a sufficient reason why God can and does forgive them. Here we have atonement for sin by satisfaction.

It remained, however, for the Reformation of the sixteenth century to give us a more satisfactory philosophy of the Atonement. While the schoolmen held that the work of Christ was a satisfaction to God's personal claims—a sort of arbitrary compensation for a personal injury, the Reformers regarded it as the necessary punishment of a violated law. The former maintained that the necessity for the Atonement of Christ arose from the arbitrary will of God as a possessor of private rights; the latter sought its explanation in the public law of the universe.

Mr. Dale accepts the theory of the Reformers. He believes that Jesus Christ so "assumed the penal responsibilities of mankind that all who believe on Him are delivered from the penalties of sin, and that the law has inflicted on Him the sufferings which, but for His mercy, would have been inflicted on us." "The Death of Christ," he says, "is the objective ground on which the sins of men are remitted, because in His submission to the awful penalty of sin, in order to preserve our relations to the Father through Him, there was a revelation of the righteousness of God, which must otherwise have been revealed in the infliction of the penalties of sin on the human race."* This is the proposition which he illustrates in his ninth lecture. But while he accepts the substitutionary theory of Christ's death, he acknowledges that that death was in the highest sense representative. It is this union of these two views which constitutes what of peculiarity there is in Mr. Dale's treatment of the subject—a union which has disappointed some, while it has delighted others. These two aspects are not antagonistic,

* Pp. 431, 432.

but harmonious representations of the work of Jesus Christ. If, therefore, a theory is constructed which can claim the confidence of our faith, it must be constructed not on those descriptions of Christ's death as a ransom, a vicarious sacrifice, and propitiation, but on the real relation which He sustains to both God and man. It must rest on facts, and not on representations, which only illustrate the cause and the results of Christ's sufferings. "To suppose," says Mr. Dale, "that the nature of the death of Christ is completely expressed, when it is represented as a propitiation, is to bring ourselves face to face with new difficulties, and some old ones in a new form, for the incidents of propitiation, as known among ourselves, cannot assist us to understand a propitiation which originates with the injured person. We can as little conceive of God working down His resentment by suffering for us, and thereby propitiating Himself, as we can think of Christ subduing the wrath of the Father by His obedience and the urgency of His intercession."*

If, then, we cannot conceive of God working down His resentment by suffering for us, and thereby propitiating Himself according to Dr. Bushnell's theory, and, moreover, if it is as impossible for us to conceive of Christ subduing the wrath of the Father by His obedience and the urgency of His intercession—the theory held by the late Dr. M'Leod Campbell—we must find out if possible whether the connection between the shedding of the blood of Christ and the remission of sins can be explained on the ground of any original relation which He sustains to the eternal law of righteousness of which sin is the transgression. In doing so it is necessary to remember that He is represented in Scripture as God manifest in the flesh; that He is the moral ruler of mankind, to whom all men are amenable, and by whom the penalties of sin are inflicted. In Him is vested all power and authority in heaven and in earth. The law which sin has transgressed is His law. The honour of this law He was bound to uphold, and when infringed the punishment due to such infringment rested with him. Now, it may be difficult to ascertain the precise relation of Christ to the moral law, but the theory that makes the antithesis between right and wrong dependent on the arbitrary will of God rather augments than lessens the difficulty. Facts of human history and human conscience are left unexplained. There have been those who, though denying the being of God, have held themselves morally bound to act uprightly towards their fellow men. Before a mere command can create the duty of obedience there must be an antecedent obligation to obey the authority from which the command proceeds. This antecedent obligation is in the nature of things themselves.† "Righteousness" being, as Mr. Dale says, "the

* Pp. 357 and 358. † The Atonement, p. 368.

fulfilment of moral obligation it is impossible that mere will should create." * Although we deny that the will of God is the fountain of moral distinctions, we must not be understood as teaching that His relation to the eternal law of righteousness is a relation of subjection. It is a relation of "identity." God is not bound by its authority as we are, for in Him "its authority is actively asserted. The homage which is due to the law is due to Him. It is alive in Him; it reigns on His throne, sways His sceptre, is crowned with His glory." †

The relation which Jesus Christ as the moral ruler of the universe sustains to the law of eternal righteousness being unique —the relation of identity and not of subjection—it follows that His honour is bound up with the honour of the law itself. In a very important sense the failure of the one would be the failure of the other, because they are identical—identical in the sense that in Him and in His government the law finds its highest expression and exemplification. He is bound to maintain the authority of the law, not only because of His own honour, but because upon its maintenance depends the moral and spiritual weal of the universe. This involves another fact, viz., that in case the law is broken it is with Him to inflict its penalties in some form or other. Sin must be punished, and punished by God. "If it were of the nature of a personal offence against the majesty of God, and punishment the just expression of God's personal resentment against it, it would leave God free to inflict or to remit punishment at His own good pleasure." ‡ The necessity for the infliction of the penalties of sin does not arise from the possibilities there are that the sinner by enduring them may either be made better himself, or others by witnessing his sufferings may be deterred from committing the like offences. The necessity rests on other grounds. The sinner deserves to suffer, and the punishment due to his offence is a definite declaration of this fact. To this must be added that "whatever moral element is found in punishment as punishment, is derived from the person or power that inflicts it."

Now "if," as Mr. Dale says, "the penalties of sin are remitted, we have to inquire whether it is possible for this principle to be suppressed, or whether it must be asserted in some other form." §

* The Atonement, p. 370.

† "For though the will of God be the supreme efficient cause of all things, and produces into being or existence, or reduces into nothing what it pleaseth, yet it is not the formal cause of anything besides itself, as the schoolmen have determined, in these words—that God himself cannot supply the place of a formal cause; and, therefore, it cannot supply the place of a formal cause or nature of justice, or injustice, honesty or dishonesty. *It is impossible that anything should be by will only,* that is, without a nature or entity, or that the nature and essence of anything should be arbitrary."—Dr. Cudworth's *Treatise on Eternal Morality,* page 16.

‡ P. 381. § P. 372.

Its suppression we think was impossible. That it was likely to be asserted in some other form rather than by inflicting punishment upon the sinner is what was not only possible, but what a God of infinite love and mercy was likely to do. To do this Jesus Christ the Son of God and the moral ruler of mankind became incarnate and endured all the suffering that such incarnation involves—trial, temptation, the ingratitude, the scorn, and the malignity of men, and eventually the shame and agony of crucifixion. As the Son of God and the Son of Man He was capable of asserting the principle that sin deserved to be punished without inflicting that punishment upon the sinner by enduring the dreadful suffering Himself. His death was the revelation of the righteousness as well as the love of God—of His righteousness, because it declared in the most impressive manner that He is opposed to sin; of His love, because while He hates sin, and declares that those who commit it deserve to be punished, He has willingly submitted to the suffering and death of the cross that the sinner might be saved.

But what is it gives to the sufferings and death of Christ the expiatory power which His own statement, that His blood was shed for the remission of sins, necessarily implies? "His death," says Mr. Dale, "was the death of the Son of God, of God manifest in the flesh; it was a voluntary death. He came into the world to die. Immediately before His death He was forsaken of God."* By Christ being forsaken of God we are to understand that He "passed into outer darkness, into which He must have driven the human race for its crimes."

But was Jesus Christ forsaken of God just before He died on the cross? Did He go into the outer darkness which such a withdrawal of the Divine presence implies—a darkness into which He, as the distributor of the penalties of sin, must have driven the human race? Now, while there are many who believe as firmly as we do that the death on the cross was the voluntary death of the Son of God, there are not a few who hesitate to receive the statement that He was forsaken of God. They honestly doubt the soundness of such a notion. To them the facts of Christ's life preclude such a possibility. He loved the Father and lived in conscious fellowship with Him, and the Father more than once declared that in His well-beloved Son He was well-pleased. That He should be left alone in the hour of His greatest need is what appears to some an utter impossibility. But, if He was not forsaken, in what way are we to understand His words? Did He mean what He said? Or are we to take them in some modified sense, "some surface sense,"† as Mr. Mercer calls it, in which Christ's "bitter cry" was natural in that season of His "spirit's darkness?" Our opinion is that the cry of Christ on the cross was

* P. 360. See also pages 55—63. † Why the Cross of Christ. P. 81.

natural, because it was true; and to talk of its only implying that He who raised it was only forsaken of His Father in "some surface sense," and that it was raised because Christ could thereby "conscientiously relieve His burdened feeling, and let the world know how great the burden of His feeling (was) is," is to make statements without any good foundation, and which, moreover, seriously fail to meet the necessities of the case. We are bound to interpret the words which Christ uttered in that dreadful hour of His life, as representing "the actual truth of our Lord's position," and as explanatory of very much of what we find in His history. As the *Son of God* He was not forsaken of His Father. The cause of this Divine withdrawal is not to be found in any change of relation between the Father and the Son. The bond between them remained still unbroken. But Jesus Christ sustained another relation besides that of Son to the Father—He was man's substitute. His Divine-Human person renders such a two-fold relationship a glorious possibility. And if we grant this two-fold relationship, as I think we must, does it not help us to see how Jesus Christ could be, and was, loved of the Father even at the very time when He, as our substitute, was on the cross enduring the penal consequences of our sins; that in His representative character He suffered the loss of the Divine presence—which loss constitutes the very essence of sin's punishment—that He might thereby magnify and uphold the authority of the eternal law of righteousness, whose authority He was bound to maintain, either by inflicting upon the sinner the suffering due to his sin or by bearing that suffering Himself. It was not, therefore, as the Son that He was forsaken, but as the sinner's substitute. Hence when we speak of His bearing the penal consequences of sin we do not mean that he bore the load of human guilt and moral turpitude, but simply that as our Representative He became equally liable to the pain and loss which we must have had to endure but for Him. He bore our sins under a judicial infliction. He was made a curse for us. God spared not His own Son but freely delivered Him up for us all. And "if God's love for His creatures invest the Divine act which punishes them with the highest moral value, the love of the eternal Father for the Son invests with infinite moral sublimity the Divine act which surrendered Him to desertion and to death that the justice of the penalties of sin might be affirmed before the penalties were remitted."*

Mr. Dale having shown that Jesus Christ, as the moral ruler of mankind, was of necessity bound, in virtue of the relation of the identity between Himself and the moral law to uphold the claims of that law; that the violation of it cannot go unpunished; that the punishment which such violation deserves involves pain and

* P. 393.

loss; that the moral significance of the suffering by which sin is punished is derived from the fact that that suffering is inflicted by the will of God; that the mysterious unity of the Father and the Son rendered it possible for God to endure and inflict penal suffering—possible for Him to inflict it because He was God—possible for Him to endure it because He was the God-Man; and that it was a greater act for Him to submit to such suffering than to inflict it,—he proceeds in his last lecture to consider the grounds on which Jesus Christ, as the moral ruler of the universe, could so identify Himself with the human race as to assume our nature, and endure suffering instead of inflicting it. The question is, whether the original and ideal relation of Jesus Christ to the human race constitutes a reason why He should become a sacrifice and propitiation for our sins. Mr. Dale believes it does, and finds the words of St. Paul, in the first chapter of the epistle to the Colossians, from the 15th to the 18th verse, sufficient ground on which to rest the doctrine. We are not disposed to dispute the doctrine, but we must demur to its being made to depend upon a single Greek preposition—or the way in which Mr. Dale views it—for its chief support. In treating of the subject of this lecture Mr. Dale fails to carry us with him so fully as he does in the other parts of his able treatise. Not that in those parts there are not here and there defects in the line of argument by which his general position is somewhat weakened. We fail to see what right he has to infer the doctrine of Christ's moral rulership from those texts of Scripture which all must admit have exclusive reference to the rulership of our Lord as the Mediator of the New Covenant and founded on his Mediatorial work. Undoubtedly the inference is made because the author believes these passages make known to us Christ's relation to the moral government of the universe viewed from its mediatorial aspects; and that the revealed relations of the persons of the Trinity to mankind "are," as he says, "conditioned by relations deeper than themselves."* Suppose we grant this, we still fail to see how the position assummed by Mr. Dale is made any stronger by trying to rest the possibility of the incarnation on an original and ideal relation existing between Jesus Christ and the human race, than it would be were that possibility argued from the fact that He who is almighty in love and power can do whatsoever it pleaseth Him. Instead of regarding Christ as our representative, because of some original and ideal relation to mankind, as Mr. Dale does, we regard His representative character as resting upon His assumption of our nature and cause. He who is Divine became human, and in His Divine-Human Person is our Saviour, Intercessor, and Brother. As such He is the "image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature," and, "by

* P. 6.

Him were all things created that are in Heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by Him, and for Him: and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist. And He is the head of the body, the Church." The Church is indebted to Him as her head for all knowledge, for all grace, and for all life. Her members live in Him and unto Him. His life is their life, and has become theirs not through an original and ideal relation which He sustained to them before His taking upon Himself their nature and cause, but because they have trusted in His Atonement for salvation.

We confess ourselves unable to understand fully what Mr. Dale means by first informing us that when Christ died the human race died with Him, and that when men believe in Him as their Saviour they die with Him, and when in His resurrection they rise to a new life, except it is intended by such statements to teach that Jesus Christ sustains a twofold representative relation to mankind—one to mankind generally, because of the original and ideal relation—another to believers specially, because of their union with Him through the spirit of holiness. If He teaches that Jesus Christ, as the representative of mankind, died for all men, and that He thereby procured for them pardon, together with all the sanctifying influences of the Holy Ghost; and that thereby believers in Christ are made the happy partakers of these glorious benefits, we freely and fully go with him. But, if he wishes us to understand that in virtue of Christ's death there is deposited in us all an amount of moral and spiritual power, or grace, before we have exercised saving faith, we cannot see how such an hypothesis can be supported by an appeal to either the teachings of Christ or of His Apostles. There is a little confusion in this part of Mr. Dale's work—a confusion which we believe comes of his strenuous efforts to show that because of some relation which Jesus Christ as the Eternal Word sustained to mankind, previous to His incarnation, He was not only the person who should, but the only person who could, undertake to suffer and die for the human family; that He, according to St. Paul's words in the Colossians, was from all eternity the fontal type of all material and moral beauty which has been brought into existence; and that from Him have sprung, as from a kind of root, all things and all beings. That all things and all beings have been created and sustained by Jesus Christ we admit. We moreover admit that the glory and perfection which in creation have been manifested in time have dwelt in Him from eternity; that He is the very ground and root of the universe's being; that the universe was created by Him; and that it was not made for itself, but for Him; and that apart from the continued exercise of His power the universe must come to an end. But to

base the doctrine of Christ's brotherhood to the race upon these facts is a questionable course, for it seems to be drawing from those passages of Scripture which set such facts before us a doctrine which we believe they were never intended to teach. If from the fact that Jesus Christ created mankind in His own image and likeness we are to infer the doctrine of His brotherhood, we are bound to go further and show that He is on the same ground the brother and representative of all the other orders of created intelligences in the universe. But does Creatorship create Brotherhood? Is the latter the necessary outcome of the former? Is it not more consonant with the teaching of the Scriptures to refer the brotherhood and representative relation of Jesus Christ to the human family to the fact of His having assumed our nature, and that He by such an assumption was made in all things like unto His brethren, sin excepted? Was it not thus that He was able to bear for us the penalty due to our sins by submitting to the retributive judgments of God? He bear our sins in His own body on the tree. He died to take away sin by the sacrifice of Himself. He died the just for the unjust to bring us to God. He is our Brother because He has become one with us in all that constitutes a true human personality. Hence all that He did and suffered was done and suffered for us, His brethren. He represented us because He became one with and one of us. While we see in Him the Divine Father, the Father sees mankind in Him. He who was Divine became human, that in His Divine-Human nature He might endure that pain and loss which mankind would have had to suffer but for Him. In the dignity of Him who thus suffered, in His obedience to the will of His Heavenly Father, together with His infinite love and sympathy for mankind, we have what may be called the revealed reasons why His death has been made the ground on which God can and does consistently cancel the guilt of penitent and believing souls, and graciously receives them into spiritual communion with Himself. In this lies the virtue and value of the Atonement.

We now bring our remarks to a close by simply saying that what we have had to say concerning Mr. Dale's philosophy of the Atonement has principally been of an apologetic character. His theory is ours; and it is ours because we sincerely believe it to be the theory which is according to facts. The whole subject has received at the hands of Mr. Dale that treatment which only a ripened scholarship, a sanctified intellect, and a sincere and devout heart could bestow upon it. The book is a thoughtful, learned, and sympathetic defence of the grand old truth that God graciously forgives sin because Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, satisfied the demands of the law which we had broken by enduring the penal suffering which He, as the moral Ruler of the universe,

was bound to inflict. In a style that is charmingly lucid—not to say brilliant—and which frequently glows with eloquence, he sets forth the glorious fact that He who was and is God manifest in the flesh became our brother and representative that He might bear our sins in His own body on the tree, and that He atoned for them by submitting to the just judgments of God against sin; and that by so doing He has become the propitiation for the sins of the world. We are not oblivious of those points—and they are but few indeed—on which we have felt disposed to differ from Mr. Dale; neither do we ignore the fact that very many who have sincerely pondered over the theme which he so ably discusses will urge serious objections against the theory which he sets forth as a solution of the difficulties which beset the subject. But when we have said this we cannot but believe that even those who refuse to acknowledge the validity of some of Mr. Dale's arguments will readily own that students of theology and the Church at large are indebted to him for what they must allow to be a very able performance. It is the result of earnest thought, of independent and patient research, and reflects great credit on its author, and through him on the religious community of which he is an esteemed minister. Of the doctrine itself, of which the lectures are a noble exposition and defence, we have been more than once disposed to say with the judicious Hooker, "Let it be counted folly, or frenzy, or whatever else, it is our comfort and our wisdom. We care for no knowledge in the world but this, that man hath sinned and God hath suffered; that God hath made Himself the sin of man, and that men are made the righteousness of God."*

* The Imputed Righteousness of Christ—second sermon.

Art. II.—THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS: ITS NATURE AND VALUE IN RELATION TO SUPERNATURAL REVELATION.

Read before the Association of Ministers in the Nottingham District, Sept. 1, 1876.

By the Rev. John Wenn.

It is proper that I begin with a few words respecting consciousness in general, before I come to speak of the religious consciousness in particular. What is consciousness? The term, as those who are familiar with its Latin roots know, means "a knowing together with." But such an explanation needs explaining. Sir W. Hamilton says that consciousness is "a knowing that we know." Porter defines it as "the power by which the soul de-

fines its own acts and states." Reid observes "it is an operation of the understanding of its own kind, and cannot be logically defined." But he goes on to speak of "its objects," which phrase, taken in connection with that other, "operation of the understanding," indicates that in Reid's view consciousness is something different from the sensations, desires, feelings, of which we are conscious. Dr. Thos. Brown, however, combats this doctrine of Reid's, and identifies consciousness with the objects of consciousness. "Sensation," says he, "is not the object of consciousness different from itself, but a particular sensation is the consciousness of the moment." Again, "consciousness is a series of feelings *alone*." More emphatically he remarks, "there are not sensations, thoughts, passions, *and also* consciousness." He calls Reid's view a fallacy, and accounts for the fallacy from the use of the personal pronoun, I. And yet, if I apprehend him correctly, he seems further on to contradict himself, because he allows that "the feeling is one momentary and changeable state *of the permanent substance, I*." Mr. Mill, too, seems to labour (I speak this with all deference, knowing how possible it is that I may have misapprehended him) under the same confusion of thought. For whilst he affirms in one place "sensations are *all* of which I am conscious," in another he affirms that "sensations *are states of the sentient mind*." And no doubt such a distinction is founded in truth. For otherwise, if at any moment I become unconscious of any particular sensation, in that moment I cease to exist. Or, to put it in Dean Mansel's words: "If I am anyone of my own thoughts, I live and die with each successive moment of my consciousness." It is perfectly true that we cannot tell what the "sentient mind," or *substratum* of the feelings, may be; but neither can we tell what material substance is. Berkeley denied the existence of this latter; and Hume, to be avenged on him, denied that the mind was anything but a succession of feelings or sensations. And this notion formed the tap-root of Hume's scepticism. The battle-*cry* has been changed; but the battle-*ground* remains the same to this day. Substitute the modern "noumena and phenomena" for the older "substance and quality," and you have precisely the same thing under different terms. It seems to me that both parties are right, and both wrong; right in what they hold, wrong in what they reject. Combine the two, and you have the truth. For example; we are never conscious of self apart from self as thinking, willing, or some other mental operation; but just as little are we conscious of the thought or sensation apart from self. We know the two things together, the affecting object, and the affected mind.

Anyhow, consciousness is knowledge; knowledge at first hand. It is not reasoning: a *chain* of reasoning, so called, is fashioned

out of links furnished by the consciousness. The objects of the consciousness are called "first truths," "primary beliefs," and so on; beyond which, *backwards*, it is not possible to go; and from which, in all discourse or argument, you are bound to start. These objects are known *intuitively*; that is, the mind looks in upon them without the aid of any media whatever. They are *self-evident*, so that no amount of argument can either shake or strengthen the fact of their existence. And they are also *universal*. What is a fact of consciousness to me is, (allowing for difference of development) a fact of consciousness to every other man in the world. A sensation of pain to a European is not a sensation of pleasure to a Red Indian, and the feeling of hunger is the same in the African and the Englishman. It is true that neither a child nor a savage may know that two straight lines cannot enclose a space; but that is because the fact has never been as yet been clearly apprehended. When it is, if it should ever be, it will be, and cannot but be, as undoubted a fact in their consciousness as it already is in mine.

Further, consciousness necessarily implies *distinction between one object and another*. Consciousness is knowledge of single objects, sensations, thoughts, and so forth. But if I am to know an object as it is, I must be able to distinguish it from other objects. To be conscious of a lake, for instance, I must be able to distinguish it from a mountain. Making the distinction is not the work of consciousness, but of *reflection*, which is the handmaid of consciousness.

Furthermore, consciousness is only possible in the form of a *relation*. There must be a subject or person conscious, and an object or thing of which he is conscious. There can be no consciousness without the union of these two factors, and in that union each exists only as it is related to the other. You may not be able to separate the two in time, but you can in thought. For instance; my existence and the consciousness of that existence are inseparable in point of time, and yet distinguishable in thought. Hence, I say, "I am conscious of my own existence." I mean by this, that my being or existence stands related as object to my consciousness as subject. I know that I exist; moreover, I know that I existed ten, twenty, thirty years ago. My memory reproduces for me the life I led in that past time. Thus, I may be said to be re-conscious of the past; I am then conscious of a present self and a past self; and conscious at the same time that these are one. This leads not only to the consciousness of personality, but to that also of *personal identity*.

Besides my present and past existence there is an extra-mental world, crowded with objects of which I am conscious. This world and these objects are distinct from me, and I know them to exist,

and to exist apart from me by the sensations which they produce. In this fact lies the philosophical distinction between the *ego* and the *non-ego*. This is a just and truthful distinction, notwithstanding that some great men have ventured to hint otherwise. Mr. Mill, for instance, has said: "the non-ego altogether may be but a mode in which the mind represents to itself the possible modifications of the ego." That is to say, Mr. Mill *may* have written some books; which books *may* have had some purchasers; which purchasers *may* have been the means of conveying some cash into Mr. Mill's pocket; but after all, books, purchasers, cash, and even pocket, *may* have been only some "modification" of Mr. Mill's ego; nothing objectively real at all; but only some *fancy* of the ego, Mill. Do I hear it muttered, "solemn trifling." I concur in that verdict. But it is such trifling as great intellects like that of J. S. Mill have condescended to engage in.

The testimony of consciousness is as strong for the existence of objects external to the mind as for that of an inner self.

And now I come to the question of the *religious consciousness* in particular. It has occurred to me that the gentlemen who selected the title of this paper possibly meant, though they did not say, the Christian, instead of the Religious Consciousness. "The religious consciousness" is a wider term than the "Christian consciousness," whilst at the same time it includes it. A few words upon the *nature* of both and their value in relation to supernatural revelation will obviate any mistake.

What, then, is the *nature* of the religious consciousness? Man is, constitutionally, a religious being. And this is evident from the fact that he never obtains his first notion of the Deity and his relation to Him from reason and reflection, but from consciousness. It has been well said, "Man learns to pray before he learns to reason." Reason and reflection are auxiliaries to consciousness. Religious thought, if it is to exist at all, can only exist as representative of some fact of religious intuition—of some individual state of mind in which is presented, as an immediate fact, that relation of man to God of which man, by reflection, may become distinctly and definitely conscious.

"Two such states may be specified as dividing between them the rude materials out of which reflection builds up the religious consciousness. These are,—the *feeling* of *dependence*, and the *conviction* of *moral obligation*. To these two facts of the inner consciousness may be traced, as to their sources, the two great outward acts by which religion in various forms has been manifested among men: *prayer*, by which they seek to win God's blessing upon the future; and *expiation*, by which they strive to atone for the offences of the past. Now, if you come to examine this feeling of dependence closely, you will find that it is a feeling that

our existence and welfare are in the hands, not of an inexorable fate, or immutable law, but of a Personal Being, who can show favour or severity to those dependent upon Him, and can be regarded by them with feelings of hope, and fear, and reverence, and gratitude. We have thus, in the sense of dependence, the foundation of one great element in religion—*the fear of God.*

"But the *mere* consciousness of dependence does not of itself exhibit the character of the Being upon whom we depend. It is as consistent with superstition as with religion—with the belief in a malevolent as a benevolent Deity. . . . . The Being on whom we depend is, in that single relation, manifested in the infliction of pain, as well as in the bestowal of happiness. But in order to make suffering, as well as enjoyment, contribute to the religious education of man, it is necessary that he should be conscious, not merely of *suffering*, but of *sin*—that he should look upon pain not only as infliction, but as deserved, and should recognize in its Author as well the justice that punishes as the anger that harms. . . . . The deficiency is supplied by the other element in religion,—the *consciousness* of *moral obligation*,—carrying with it, as it necessarily does, the conviction of sin. . . It is certain that one part of our moral constitution has an authority over the rest. But what right has it to such authority? What right has one portion of the human consciousness to represent itself as *duty*, and another merely as *inclination*? There is but one answer possible. The moral reason, or will, or conscience of man—call it by what name we please—can have no authority, save as implanted in him by some higher Spiritual Being, as a law emanating from a Lawgiver. . . . . We are thus compelled, by the consciousness of moral obligation, to assume the existence of a moral Deity, and to regard the absolute standard of right and wrong as constituted by the nature of that Deity."*

If such be a correct representation of the testimony of the religious consciousness, the question may here be asked—Is such testimony in harmony with the facts of supernatural revelation, or opposed to them? My consciousness, and the consciousness of every other man, testifies to the existence of a Being upon whom we depend; to the moral character of that Being; to the naturalness, spontaneousness, and reasonableness of prayer; to the necessity of atonement. Now, these facts of the consciousness are at the same time revealed doctrines and required duties of the Bible, proving that the Author of the consciousness and the Author of the Bible are one. Why do not the inspired writers attempt to *prove* the existence of God; that He is a moral Being; that we are dependent upon Him, and yet at enmity with Him through sin?—in other words, why do they constantly *assume* these things

* Adapted from Mansel.

as matters of fact? Because they are matters of fact, because they precede demonstration, are out of the reach of criticism, and resist hostile argument. It is for this reason we affirm that the human consciousness and the Bible, so far at least as the facts go upon which I am now dwelling, must ever be at one. Think what advantage this affords to the preacher of righteousness, in appealing from the Divinely revealed testimonies in the Bible to the corresponding facts of the human consciousness! Conceive him urging with earnestness and force, "You *know* that there is a God; you *know* that He is just and holy; you *know* that you are dependent upon Him, and that it is right to love and reverence Him; you *know* that you ought to pray unto Him and to worship Him; you *know* that you are sinners, and need forgiveness." Revert, for a moment, to the relation between subject and object as implied in consciousness. If the conscious subject, in order to be conscious, must stand related to some object, either within or without itself, in the natural sphere—why not also in the moral or religious? If I cannot be conscious of a mental emotion without some book, or scene, or orator, or remembrance, to produce it, why should I be conscious of a religious feeling without some corresponding object to produce it?

Some persons admit the harmony between the above compared facts of Scripture and the religious consciousness, but draw from that harmony an inference fatal to supernatural revelation. It is said that what is called supernatural is not supernatural at all, but purely natural—that, in fact, the Bible is the product of the human consciousness;—that religious truth—if indeed we may speak of such a thing—is to be sought for in the mind of man, and not without or above it. I think it is Fuerbach who says, "that all existing religions are but the creations of human thought." If that be so, the Bible is the creation of human thought. Suppose, now, we granted this for a moment, it would only place the Divine Author of religion a little further back in the process. For who is the author of that consciousness out of which the Bible is said to spring? But I do not admit the inference; I deny it; and claim for "Revelation" a directly supernatural origin. I do this here on two grounds. First, some of the doctrines of revelation are not facts of consciousness; they are not intuitive; not self-evident; not universally believed. Such are the doctrines of the Incarnation, the Trinity, the Atonement, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the General Judgment. These, not being in the consciousness, could not come out of it. Secondly, those doctrines of the Scriptures that do square with the religious consciousness are revealed with so much greater clearness in the record than in the consciousness that we are compelled to inquire—*whence* that clearness? How came it to pass that the

religious consciousness *culminated* about two thousand years ago? This, surely, is not in accord with the doctrine of "evolution!"

Shifting their ground, the opponents of the view I am seeking to uphold endeavour to throw discredit, not only upon supernatural revelation, but also upon the religious consciousness itself. This—the consciousness—it is affirmed, is not to be trusted. It is not original. It tells us nothing but what it hears. It is nothing but a "collection of prejudices," received from childhood, and incorporated with the mental life. To which I reply: This theory confounds the furniture, the acquisition of the consciousness, with the consciousness itself. It might as well be contended that the human mind does not exist because it is developed by exercise and enlarged by information.

And now let us take the last step, and ascend into the region of the *distinctively Christian consciousness.* In pointing out the nature of this I shall essay to unfold the experience of the founders of Christianity, as this is open to us in their extant words. Perhaps the most prominent feature in the consciousness of the man Christ Jesus was His sense of communion, of *oneness* with the Father. "He that sent Me is with Me." "I and My Father are One." "I do always the things that please Him." "Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me?" "O righteous Father, the world hath not known Thee; but I have known Thee." The Father and the Son are *joint agents.* "The words that I speak unto you I speak not of myself, but the Father which dwelleth in Me, He doeth the works." They are *joint proprietors:* "And all mine are thine, and thine are mine." What do these wonderful words imply? That the Redeemer's knowledge of the Father was not as of a Being external to Himself merely; but as of One that dwelt *in* and *with* Him. And this knowledge does not appear to have been gained by the round-about method of evidence and argument, but by an *intuitive conviction* that no argument could either strengthen or remove. In a word, it was matter of consciousness.

At the time when the Great Teacher unfolded His experience in the above manner to his disciples, these were, to a large extent, ignorant of what He said and meant. Abiding communion with God—knowledge direct, intuitive, of God the Father, as their God and Father—had not yet in them become a fact of consciousness. But it was to become such, and did become such. A change, mysterious and sudden, passed upon them; a change which transformed them from servants who knew not their Lord's will to friends who shared His secrets. Occupying the same localities as before; standing in the same human relationships to others as before, they, by means of this change, entered a new world of knowledge, thought, and feeling. The Spiritual and Eternal stand

revealed to their unbandaged eyes. Being "born again, they *see* the kingdom of God." They know God, not by a process of ratiocination, but by direct revelation of Him to their heart. *Hereby*—this is the language they now hold, so different from any recorded words of theirs before—"Hereby *know* we that we dwell in Him, and He in us, because He hath given us of His Spirit." Immeasureably distant as they are from the Infinitely Pure and Wise and Merciful One in their creaturehood, they are, nevertheless, *in* and *with* Him. "In God;" *entheon:* enveloped, surrounded, filled with God.

And not only so: their consciousness of God is that of a *Trinity of Persons* in the Godhead. This was promised by Christ, and realised by them. "If a man love me, he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and *We* will come unto him and make our abode with him." This is to be not only a fact, but a fact of consciousness. "In that day ye shall *know* that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you." The prayer of Christ for His disciples reveals the same high privilege. Thus He supplicates: "That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be *one in Us.*"

Their fellowship is to be also with the Spirit, as well as with the Father and the Son. Jesus speaks of "another comforter" than Himself, whom He would "pray the Father to send in His name." Not the Father, because sent by Him; not the Son, because sent in His name; and in answer to His prayer, and to "testify" of Him. Did the disciples realise the truth of this? Assuredly; since they are not only able to say—"Truly our fellowship is with the Father and with the Son," but they speak of being "in the Spirit," of "a fellowship of the Spirit." They have "an unction of the Holy One, and know all things." This reciprocal indwelling is the condition and evidence of divine son-ship. "Ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba Father." "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God."

One only other element in the normal Christian consciousness I will here mention—love. Love of God, and love of man. "God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him." And love is knowledge—consciousness. It is a direct revelation of God to the soul. "For every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God; he that loveth not, knoweth not God, for God is love."

It will thus be perceived that the Christian consciousness does not depend either for its inception or continuance upon arguments or evidences, or the balancing of likelihoods. These things are for the understanding, the reason, not the heart. Was it not for lack of understanding this that the eighteenth century in

England was so fruitful in evidences, and so wanting in conscious godliness? I do not wish to decry evidences; the teleological, morphological, critical, have their places and uses; but I do say that never was there more of such produced for the truth of Christianity than in the eighteenth century; and never was century in the Christian era more destitute of Christianity itself. God was not immanent in man, but regarded as a Being afar off, governing *ab-extra* the worlds and man. The grand sun-lit summits of a normal Christian experience had again sunk to the dull level of the general religious consciousness. The prevailing type of religion was deistical. And so it fell out that no sooner did Wesley, in whom the Christian consciousness once more became conspicuously realized, begin to proclaim the doctrine of the direct witness of the Spirit with the believer's own spirit to his adoption into the family of God, than he was assailed, even by bishops of the church, as the rankest heretic of the age.

And now, finally, what is the value of such a consciousness in relation to supernatural revelation? Its value, to say the least, is considerable. But it may be over-estimated, and exalted to a position and office that it was never designed to fill. The religious consciousness is made by many now-a-days the test of what is Divine in the Bible. Whatever in the Bible accords with it is true; whatever clashes, or is supposed to clash with it, is false. Their favourite canon is: "The Bible *contains*, not *is*, the Word of God." The names of Schliermacher, Coleridge, and others, will readily occur to you as leaders in that school. But such a use of the religious consciousness is utterly indefensible. For it supposes that whatever is present to the religious consciousness of man must also be a fact in the consciousness of Him whose ways and thoughts are as much above our own as the heavens are above the earth; and, further, that whatever seems unimportant or repugnant to the one must also appear trifling and distasteful to the other. It is equal to saying that God must think and feel as I do, or that my religious consciousness is the exact measure of His. *That* use of the consciousness is surely as wise as to attempt to regulate the sun by the clock, and not the clock by the sun.

This erroneous use of the consciousness is chargeable with most of the flippant and defiant language of the present day on Bible questions. For instance, a writer in the *Christian World* spoke thus lately: "Justice means the poised balance, and can *time* balance *eternity?* The cruel and slavish ingenuity of theologians has suggested that the amount of retribution to sinners in the other world is to be calculated, not by man's finite nature, but by God's infinitude. Conscience and the unsophisticated soul attest exactly the reverse." That is what I call, at least, careless

writing on so solemn a subject. But is it true? "Conscience and the unsophisticated soul." I like not the terms, for it is difficult to find a perfectly trustworthy conscience, and a wholly unsophisticated soul. And were it not so, they would not attest either the one thing or the other. "Conscience" attests the *sequence* of suffering to sin, but on the point whether that suffering is to be limited or not, it is as silent as the grave. This point the Bible only can settle for us.

Keep the religious consciousness within its legitimate sphere, and its evidence is for the truth of supernatural revelation. Step, for instance, into the field where theistic naturalism and supernaturalism grapple. Here the facts of a fully developed Christian consciousness settle for ever, for us, every speculative doubt and difficulty. Is it suggested that the miracles of the Bible are incredible? How should they be incredible to Him who is conscious that a greater miracle has been wrought in Himself than any merely physical ones recorded in the pages of Scripture? He Himself is a standing miracle of the regenerating power of God! Is regeneration the effect of natural law, or of Divine interposition? Is it the work of a life-time, or of a moment? Undoubtedly the latter, however it may be preceded by a preparatory, and followed by a perfecting operation. Whatever other purposes they may serve, many of Christ's miracles are symbols of the higher and mightier work of grace in the soul of man. This work is exhibited in the New Testament as equal to the opening of the eyes of the blind; the unstopping of the ears of the deaf; the making of the dumb to speak; and the lame to leap as an hart. Nay, the states of the unregenerate and the regenerate man are as wide apart as the states of death and life. Must not a higher power than what may reside in any natural law be brought into operation, if the "dead" must be made to live? This is so, and is asserted over and over again in every variety of phrase in the Christian writings. Let this one passage suffice, "And you hath *He* quickened who were dead in trespasses and sins." Why, then, stumble at miracle? Is it hinted that the Incarnation is inconceivable? To the Christian it is not. Why should it be more inconceivable that God should become a partaker of human nature, than that man should become a "partaker of the Divine nature?" "Ascent is harder than descent; and if man can pass, by the new birth, into the heavenlies, surely God can come, by an earthly birth, into the sorrows and sympathies of the earthly and the human." To the Agnostic, God may be unknowable; not so to the Christian. The Christian loves God, and thereby knows Him. Is it possible to love anyone that does not exist? Is it possible to know anyone truly whom you do not love? Now, love of God is a fact of consciousness as undeniable as the love of wife or child is a fact of consciousness. Nay, further, it

will not be disputed that for strength and intensity the former has often surpassed the latter; separation from wife and child, and even loss of life itself, having often been preferred to a separation "from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." Now, the wife or child must stand in the relation of object to the subjective emotion, love. Love cannot rise without an object to call it up. Why should love have an object (and be not able, in fact, to exist without one) in the natural sphere, and be objectless in the religious?—be a *fact* in the one case, and a *fancy* in the other?

I know this may be objected to:—"What you allege as being a fact of consciousness to you is not a fact of consciousness to me." Granted: but revert to what has been said above about the *development* of consciousness. You are conscious of many things to-day that you were utterly unconscious of when you were five years of age. The Bible tells of God—His existence and character. But you don't *know* Him. So soon, however, as you shall bring your mind, in the required manner, face to face with the truth, that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trepasses unto them," you will know Him, love Him, and be heard gladly and wonderingly exclaiming, "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He loved us."

Other difficulties there are in connection with Supernatural Revelation—difficulties associated with the questions of Inspiration, Original Sin, the supposed Immoralities of the Record, the Minatory Psalms, the Atonement, the Resurrection of the Body, and so forth. The religious consciousness may not be able to remove all these; indeed, some of them do not come within its sphere to pronounce upon. But you may depend upon it that the more closely we nestle under the shadow of that throne which is the "habitation of justice and judgment," the more we realise an abiding fellowship with the Father and the Son through the Spirit; delighting to do His will, the more will such difficulties diminish. And, if ought that is doubtful yet remain associable with that which we *know* to be truth, Christian Faith and Hope may well wait for its disappearance "until the day break, and the shadows flee away."

ART. III.—THE CATACOMBS OF ROME.

The Catacombs of Rome, and their Testimony Relative to Primitive Christianity. By the Rev. W. H. WITHROW, M.A. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

THIS is a remarkably interesting volume, replete with information on the subject with which it deals. It is written in a clear and pleasant style, printed on good paper, illustrated by one hundred and thirty-four engravings, and neatly bound. The

contents are divided into three books. The first book discusses the structure and history of the Catacombs—their disuse and abandonment—their rediscovery and exploration—and furnishes special notices of some of the principal of these burying places. These subterraneous abodes of the dead are rich in inscriptions, roughly sketched figures, paintings, and numerous objects of interest, illustrative of the state of art among the early Christian communities, and the character and extent of the symbolism they adopted; and these subjects Mr. Withrow brings under consideration in the second division of his volume with a fulness of detail and agreeableness of manner leaving little to be desired. The third book is devoted specially to a review of the inscriptions, with reference to their character, and the light they shed upon the doctrinal teaching—the social and domestic life—and the ministry, rites, and institutions of the Primitive Italian Churches. Such are the general plan and contents of this work, and the attempt to render easy of access so important a province of Christian antiquity is deserving of all praise.

Within a circle of three miles of the walls of Rome, and along the lines of the great roads leading from the city, are numerous subterranean places of ancient sepulture. They are not all Christian, some are Jewish, and others Pagan; but these latter, where they have been discovered, are comparatively limited and private. Common and associated burial—that is, burial which, in the area devoted to it, went beyond the narrow circle of the family and served the whole ecclesiastical brotherhood—seems to have been decidedly a creation of Christianity, arising probably from the peculiar Christian idea of Church oneness, the community of the faithful developing a desire for union in death as in life. It is evident from the location and extent of these places of Christian interment that there was no secresy connected with their possession and construction. They are near to the public highways, and just outside of the city, where secresy in construction and use would have been impossible. It is not improbable that the manner in which they came to be used as places of refuge in times of persecution may have had something to do with the extent of them, the excavation being pushed in every likely direction, so as to afford the faithful the means of baffling their pursuers; and it is possible that in this way several of these cemeteries adjacent to one another became connected. How far the surface was owned by Christians it is difficult to determine; but it seems as if this must have been the case to a large extent. Perhaps in some instances the property was held by individual members of the church, and in other instances it might be acquired by combination; for though the imperial government was very strict against associations, yet it not only tolerated but supported combinations of poor people who

clubbed together for the burial of their members. "By conformity to the constitution of these corporations, the Christian Church had peculiar facilities for the burial of its dead, and even for the celebration of religious worship." The extent of the vast necropolis, which has been compared to the encampment of a Christian host besieging Pagan Rome, and driving inward its mines and trenches with an assurance of final victory, cannot be determined with exactness owing to the number and intricacy of its tangled passages. The monkish guides who conduct visitors through the abodes of the ancient dead are much given to exaggeration in this as in other matters. There are about forty-two of these cemeteries now known, though many of these are only partially accessible; but some idea may be formed of the magnitude of these excavations from the survey of the Catacomb of Callixtus by M. de Rossi. This learned and careful archæologist computed the length of all the galleries in this Catacomb to be about five hundred and eighty-seven geographical miles, distance equal to the entire length of Italy.

These last resting-places of busy-minded active men, gentle women, and innocent childhood are excavated in the volcanic rock with which the neighbourhood of Rome abounds. It is a granulated grayish breccia—or, as it is called, tufa—which, owing to the looseness of its texture, is easily cut with a knife. The Catacombs comprehend two main features, corridors or passages, and cubicula or chambers. The corridors are for the most part straight and narrow, intersecting each other at right angles, and forming a complete and intricate net-work of passages. The principal galleries are from three to five feet wide, but the lateral passages are narrower, seldom allowing more than just room for one person to pass another. The average height is about eight feet, though in some places the space between floor and roof is fifteen feet, and in others as low as five. The ceiling is mostly arched, though sometimes it is found to be flat. The floors are in the main level; here and there a gradient leads up from one level to another, and occasionally, where areas at different levels meet, a few steps have been placed. At the corners of the passages niches are frequently found, which seem to have served as lamp-stands for the guidance of those whom duty, sorrow, the fierce pressure of persecution, or other cause, led to those sombre avenues. The sides of the corridors are thickly lined with graves. They are arranged in tiers one above another, like the berths in a ship. The principle of construction seems to have been to secure as much burying space as possible with the least amount of excavation, hence the narrowness of the passages and the close proximity of the graves. After the dead were placed on their rocky beds the openings were hermetically sealed by slabs of marble or tiles of *terra cotta*. The

marbles were generally single pieces for each grave, and fitted into grooves or mortices cut in the rock, and were securely cemented to their places. Where tiles were used it required two or three to close up the front of one adult grave, and they were arranged in panels, and cemented with plaster, on which a name or symbol was often rudely scratched while it was soft. Besides galleries such as have been described, there are found in the Catacombs cubicula or chambers, and these, like the corridors, are lined with graves. They are mostly square, though sometimes octagonal or circular in form. None of them are large, the most roomy not being more than twenty feet square. It is probable that these spaces served other purposes than mere places of interment; they may have been used as mortuary chapels in which to celebrate funeral service; and they may have been used for worship in times of persecution. The roofs of these chambers are vaulted, and in some instances they are plastered, or cased with marble, and floored with tiles, and even, though rarely, paved with mosaic. But these adornments are mostly the work of later hands than those engaged in the original construction, as are also the semi-detached columns with capitals and bases of stucco which are found here and there. The walls and ceilings of some of these chambers are covered with fresco-paintings, and many of them are of exquisite design. In these cubicula, as well as in the galleries, are found arched tombs, which from their form are known as arcosalia. These underground cities of the dead do not occupy one level merely, but in some parts sink down level below level, till four or five ranges of galleries are constructed one beneath another, like the stories of a house. A descending path, either beginning or ending with a flight of steps, conducts the visitor down into these lower depths of darkness and death. Ventilation and some little light are secured by means of small shafts—or openings communicating with the surface—or with a neigbouring arenarium, or sand pit. "The mere technical description of the Catacombs, however, gives no idea of the thrilling interest felt in traversing their long-drawn corridors and vaulted halls. The sacred influence of the place subdues the soul to tender emotions. The fading pictures on the walls and pious epitaphs of the departed breathe on every side an atmosphere of faith and hope, and awaken a sense of spiritual kinship that overleaps the intervening centuries."

The history of the Catacombs is to a considerable extent the history of early Christianity, and herein lies their real interest. Their very structure reflects the character of the times in which they were made. The absence of constraint and concealment, and the superior construction and ornamentation of those belonging to the earliest times, indicate the comparative security of the Church before it had awakened the jealousy or fear of the Roman

Emperors. Their immense extension and crowded galleries testify to the rapid increase of the Christian community. The altered character which they gradually assumed, the obstructed passages, the masked entrances, devious windings, and devices for concealment or escape, and the rudely scratched inscriptions and uncouth paintings betray the sense of fear, and the kindling rage of persecution which pursued the hunted Christians to these subterraneous sanctuaries of the faith. Their greater magnificence and ornate structure, the costly mosaics, the marble stairways, and the richly carved sarcophagi of the latter ages tell of the enthronement of Christianity on the seat of the Cæsars, and of the homage paid to the relics and shrines of the saints and martyrs. And their debased architecture, barbarous paintings and progressive ruin during the later years of their history indicate the gradual eclipse of art, and their final abandonment. These abodes of gloom and silence become valuable historic lights, by means of which we can read the religious thought and look into the religious life of men and women when faith was tested by severe and bitter persecution, and compare life, creed, rite, and institution then with their correspondents in our day. As witnesses relative to primitive Christianity the sepulchral crypts that so thickly underlie the district immediately round Rome are of almost incomparable worth.

The Petrology of mediæval and modern Romanism is unsupported by the inscriptions, paintings, and symbolic representations found in the Catacombs. The only approach to anything of the kind is to be seen on two or three sarcophagi of the fifth or sixth century, on which Peter is exhibited as bearing the rod of power, and on a few glass vessels of about the same date, where he is allegorically portrayed as Moses smiting the rock, as though in the opinion of the artists he occupied in the New Testament economy a position similar to that occupied by Moses in the Jewish Church. But at the date to which these few sarcophagi and glasses belong, the pretension to the primacy by the Roman bishop, on the ground that he was Peter's successor, was already partially developed; and even on objects belonging to this same period Paul and Peter appear side by side without any indication that the latter was considered in any way superior. In the earlier centuries there is little reference to him, and nothing at all to indicate that he was ecclesiastically superior to the other apostles, and head of the Church. If the theory of his primacy and the account of his Roman bishopric be correct, it seems inexplicable that in the very city where his successors lived and ruled, and where so much relating to the doctrine and ecclesiastical state of the early Church has been preserved, there should be no definite trace of matters so important. Indeed, it is well known that bishops

living in the immediate vicinity of Rome were independent of that see, and upon many questions of faith and practice opposed its occupants; while even in the fifth century Milan took precedence of Rome, and several other places were of equal dignity. The silence of the Catacombs respecting Peter's primacy and Roman episcopate, combined with the representation of at least Paul as his ecclesiastical equal, will be found difficult to gainsay. The instances are numerous in which these not only might have been named, or represented, but in which they would have been both named and represented had they been known and recognised in the early Christian communities. When Paul was waiting in the imperial city for the crown of martyrdom he wrote to Timothy, and in the course of that letter he informed him—"only Luke is with me." He was silent respecting Peter's presence, a circumstance hardly possible if Peter was waiting at the same time to testify to the truth with his blood: and equally silent is the vast Christian necropolis respecting any connection of Peter with the city of the Cæsars, or any primacy that he exercised among the early Christian communities. There are, it is true, traditions connecting him and Paul with a small irregular and partly subterranean building beside the Church of San Sebastian, and conjectures respecting where he was wont to baptise; but these traditions are of comparatively late date, and the conjectures rest upon very slender basis. Now while we write, during the closing days of December, 1876, there comes intelligence of a discovery in the Catacombs. A Signor Armelleni, it is reported, has succeeded in deciphering an inscription in which occurs the name of St. Peter, and which, it is thought, places beyond doubt the apostle's connection with the neighbourhood. Without at present disputing the fact of the inscription, and the reading of it, we doubt the validity of the conclusion until we hear further; for the mere occurrence of the name settles nothing; everything will depend upon the import of the inscription, and concerning that no information is as yet furnished.

Mariolatry, which occupies so prominent a place in the Roman Catholic Church, is conspicuous by its absence from the life of the first centuries so far as the inscriptions, rude sketches, and more finished paintings of the Catacombs shed any light upon it. In the earliest art representations in which Mary appears she forms but one of a group, and has no prominence assigned to her whatever. She is exhibited in historical relation to the Divine Son, and only in such connection as is plainly suggested by Holy Scripture. A strained attempt is made by some papal partisans to find a representation of the Virgin in the *oranti*, which are found more or less plentifully in the crypts. These *oranti* are frescoes of persons, male and female, in the attitude of prayer, and it requires

an amazing ingenuity of imagination to find any reference to Mary in them. But even could this reference be established, it would prove nothing in favour of modern mariolatry. The figures are strikingly simple, and are not separated by any particular mark of distinction from other representations of the pious dead. There is nothing approaching to the magnificence of the crowned Queen of Heaven receiving the homage and worship of men, which forms a leading feature in Roman Catholic art. Mary, in the art-language of the Catacombs, invariably occupies a subordinate position to the Saviour; indeed, she receives no special attention and honour, but simply meets with expression of loving regard as one who was declared the "blessed among women." Can this be said to be the case in Roman Catholicism now? Mary overshadows the Divine Son in the art, theology, and worship of papal Rome. The earliest painting in the Catacombs bearing any resemblance to the conventional Madonna of modern Romanism is one found in an arcosolium, or arched tomb, in the Catacomb of St. Agnes. In this painting the head of the Virgin is veiled, the neck is adorned with pearls, and the hands are extended as in the attitude of prayer. The infant Christ is standing just in the front of her, a rather common and favourite type of the relation of the two in the Greek Church, affording some ground to conclude that the work was done by a Byzantine artist. If this inference be well founded, it will determine the date to be somewhat late. But let this conjecture respecting character and style of art be well or ill-founded, the occurrence of the Constantinian monogram on each side of the picture shows conclusively that it cannot have been executed earlier than the fourth century. Martigny, an eminent Romanist authority, does not venture to assign it a date later than the fifth century, and is of opinion that it belongs to the time of the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. Now, we know that at the time of this Council the simpler faith of the earlier churches had been overlaid with accretions of superstitious reverence for the Virgin. It was the time of the Nestorian protest, and of the sad outrage inflicted in the name of ecclesiastical authority on the Constantinopolitan Patriarch. It was at this Council that incipient mariolatry was formulated, and antagonism to it branded as heresy; and the degrading influence of this doctrine soon became apparent in ecclesiastical art. The silence of the Primitive Fathers respecting the worship of the Virgin is strengthened by the silence of the Catacombs; and their condemnation of mariolatry—for they do condemn it—is sustained by the mute evidence of these vast cities of the dead. "The testimony of the early Christian inscriptions is not less strikingly opposed to the modern mariolatry of the Church of Rome. No *Ave Maria* or *Ora pro nobis*, no *Theotokos* or *Mater Dei* occurs in any of the

subterranean crypts or corridors of the Catacombs. Even the name Maria, now so commonly applied in varying forms to both males and females throughout Roman Catholic countries, does not occur till the year 381, and only twice afterward in 536 and 538—an evidence of the entire absence of that devotional regard now lavished upon the Virgin Mary." Dr. Maitland, in his "Church in the Catacombs"—a work, which in relation to the evidential value of the inscriptions, paintings, and symbols, is of permanent worth, says that—"In the Lapidarian Gallery the name of the Virgin Mary does not once occur, nor is it to be found in any truly ancient inscription contained in the works of Aringhi, Boldetti, or Bottari."

In walking through a Roman Catholic burial ground the most casual observer can hardly fail noticing the numerous appeals to the living to pray for the souls of the dead. And the frequent invocation of the holy dead to intercede for the living is well known to all who are conversant with papal practice and usage. These dogmas of prayers for the dead and invocation of saints find considerable countenance and support in the State Church of this country. We think we can detect and appreciate the sentiment whence these notions and practices have arisen—the unity of them that believe—"one church above, beneath"—and a grand and beautiful sentiment it is; but the manner in which it is treated by Romanists and Ritualists obscures its grandeur, and defaces its beauty. This fine sentiment is in truest accord with the deepest and tenderest feelings of our nature, and had it received such expression in the Primitive Church as it finds in Modern Romanism, it would have been found broadly and clearly written throughout these old Christian sepulchres. But neither praying for the dead, nor praying to them, seems to have entered into the life and usage of the Ancient Church. There have been thirteen hundred and seventy four inscriptions discovered belonging to the first six centuries which are dated, and in only one is there the trace of anything that can be construed into an invocation of the dead. This single inscription is dated 380, and is nothing more than the cry of a poor orphaned girl in the hour of her sorrow to her mother who had died. It is a cry of natural affection, not an expression of religious belief. The following is a copy of the inscription:—"Here rests a handmaid of God, who of all her riches possesses but this one house; whom her friends bewail, and seek for consolation. O pray for this thine only child whom thou hast left behind. Thou wilt remain in the eternal repose of happiness." A few undated inscriptions contain sentences of a similar character, such as, "Pray for thy children"—"Pray for thy parents"—expressions which form slender ground for the Romish dogma of the Invocation of Saints. As to any request

that the living shall pray for the souls of the departed, not a shadow of a trace of anything of the kind has ever been discovered in corridor or crypt that has, up till now, been explored. This practice of Romanism has its root in the dogma of purgatorial cleansing; and this doctrine is not only unsupported by the inscriptions exhumed from the Catacombs, but it is directly at variance with them.

The earliest incriptions are simple notes of interment, giving name, age, and, in some instances, place of nativity, and occasionally adding, "sleeps in peace." Rudely executed symbols are sketched upon many of the tombs, and after the first and second decades of the third century the expressions of eschatological beliefs become fuller and more explicit. The anchor, the crown, and the palm are all bright and joyous symbols. They indicate no state of purgatorial suffering through which the saints had to pass to the City of God. When, with softened mournfulness of spirit and with loving tenderness, these early disciples of the Nazarene committed the bodies of their kindred and friends to their narrow rocky beds—whether they did it when the Church had rest and liberty, or when the faithful were standing bravely in the grasp of relentless persecution—it was done in hope, and with a subdued joyous sense that victory had been won. The anchor, crown, or palm roughly scratched on the plaster, securing the tiles or marble with which the mouth of the tomb was closed, tell of the faith of the survivors. And where words are added, they declare that the departed sleeps in peace; that they have entered into rest; that they are received to God; that they live among the holy ones. The Christian conception of death and the future is in striking contrast not only to the blank despair of paganism, but to the corrupt faith of papal Rome. In the theology of the Catacombs no purgatorial fires are represented as standing between the departed sons and daughters of the Church and the place prepared by Christ for His people. The freed spirit passes into the presence of God, and rejoices in a brighter day, a clearer light, and fairer conditions of existence than earth can afford. The gloomy Catacomb was the pathway to "the glory of God and the peace of Christ our Lord." Purgatory has been like a mine of Peru to Romanism, but the early Church knew nothing of it. Strange irony of fate that in the galleries of the Vatican itself are gathered the surest evidences of these doctrinal corruptions of the Papacy and its sad degeneracy from the primitive faith.

The Christian memorials of the first four centuries exhibit none of the gross and sensuous characteristics which appear in the modern art of the Eastern and Western Churches, thus showing that the thought, and feeling, and practice of the earlier period were much purer and healthier than those of the later. The

aspects under which religious beliefs possess men, and complexion their thoughts and feeling, are reflected pretty truthfully in their painting and sculpture. In the sacred art of the mediæval Church and of modern Romanism there is everywhere prevalent a rank sensuousness. Christ is represented in His agony and bloody sweat, and with the crown of thorns on His brow; and over these representations there spreads the awfulness of extreme tragic expression. The suffering is intense bodily suffering, and so gross in the main is this outcome of Christian art—and it comprehends by far the greater part of it—that we turn away from it in disgust. The materialisation of suffering marks a degeneracy of faith, and a departure from the lofty and elevating conceptions of spiritual Christianity. In no crypt or corridor of the great necropolis which winds round the greater part of the seven-hilled city have any images of sorrow and woe been found such as are to be met with on every hand above-ground. The seven-fold sorrows of the *Mater Dolorosa;* the cadaverous Magdalens, with their accompanying eyeless skulls; the figures of Christ grim with physical agony and torture; the sensuous representations of His death and burial; the flagellations, tormentings, and fiery pangs of martyrdom, which are to be found so plentifully in the churches and picture galleries of papal Rome, and all countries under its sway, have no counter-parts in the silent passages and darkened crypts where Christian men and women in the early centuries of our era laid their dead, and in rude sketch or elaborate picture adorned their resting-places with expressions of a bright and loving hope, and with the record of a lofty spiritual faith. The centre of Romanist symbolism—the Cross—finds no place in early Christian art. This sign of salvation, now preverted to such superstitious use, is conspicuous by its absence from the collected inscriptions, paintings, and antiquities of the Ante-Nicene churches. It may be that the despised character of this sign, combined with the attitude of the pagan world, may have contributed to this result; but still it is not till nearly a hundred years after the recognition of Christianity by the State that the first dated example of a simple undisguised cross is found among the exhumed art of ancient Christendom. During the latter part of the fifth century and onwards it becomes common enough; but prior to the first decade of that century it is not to be certainly met with. A simplicity and dignified spirituality pervades the art of the Church in the first centuries, despite all its roughness and imperfectness, for which we look in vain either in the Roman or Greek Church. Here all is meretricious, sensuous, and degenerate, as unlike the art of the earlier age as the gaudy finery of harlotry is unlike the modest robing of womanly chastity.

The resurrection of the dead is a distinctly Christian doctrine.

The faiths of antiquity don't contain it. When Paul declared it in the midst of Athenian culture, he was mocked and derided. This peculiar characteristic of our faith is discernable everywhere in the Catacombs. It is symbolised in the representations of the story of Jonah, and the raising of Lazarus. There is express mention of it in many of the inscriptions. The flesh—it is written on wall of corridor and crypt—rests here; but at the last day, through Christ, it will be raised from the dead. The tomb to these early believers was full of the promise of life. Neither death nor the grave had any terrors for them. The blankness of paganism and the purgatory of Rome are alike alien to the thought and faith of those who, full of hope, submissively accepted their short severance from their pious dead. It appears, too, so far as research has gone, that the Christians using the Catacombs were Trinitarian in creed. The divinity of Christ is repeatedly and strikingly affirmed. The Alpha and Omega are associated with the sacred monogram, a direct allusion to the passage in the Revelation of St. John the Divine descriptive of the eternity of Christ, and the Messianic name is variously combined with the name of God in a manner indicating that there was an identity between the two in the faith of the Church. "May you live in God Christ"—"in God the Lord Christ"—"in Christ God"—"in the Lord Jesus"—are forms of expression commonly met with. Divine attributes are also affirmed of Christ. He is called God, Christ Almighty—God, holy Christ, only light—Christ, the one holy God—and of him it is said in the impression of a seal on one of the graves—"Christ is God." The heresies which sprang up in the early centuries find no record in the Catacombs; nor, indeed, is there a hint of them unless such statements as we have quoted above are regarded as designed and vigorous protests against departures from the faith. These silent resting-places of the Christian dead, hidden for generations, furnish ample testimony of the faith of early times; and we venture to think that the doctrinal position of Protestantism is nearer that early faith than the formulated creed of Romanism. Mr. Withrow's volume does good service in setting this forth so distinctly and clearly. Controversially considered, it is as effective a refutation of the monstrous pretensions of the Papacy as we have read for some time; and it is all the more effective because the substance of it is furnished by the Romish Church itself. The galleries of the Vatican contain the most damaging evidence against Popery to be found anywhere.

It is interesting to look upon the buried past as exploration in the Catacombs lifts the veil from it, and to note the prevailing features of the ecclesiasticism of the primitive Christian communities. Most of the inscriptions relating to this subject are of post-Constantinian origin, but the earlier the inscription the simpler appears to have been the ecclesiastical organisation of the

Church. The bishop, though the chief pastor and overseer of the flock, and occupying the highest office in the scale of ecclesiastical position, does not appear as invested with any symbol of special dignity, neither does he seem to have been very broadly distinguished from the presbyters. We search in vain among these records of the primitive ages of the Christian Church for the clearly marked and fully developed ecclesiasticism of later times. There is little difference traceable between the work of a bishop and the work of a presbyter. The former seems to have been an appointed president among equals, not a canonical chief and superior such as he afterwards became. To these may be added deacons, and lectors or readers, and the hierarchy of the early Church is about complete. There is abundant evidence of a well-ordered administration of the ordinances of religion, simple and unadorned, but throbbing with spiritual life and power, with which the dignities, pomps, and rituals of modern hierarchies appear to have small connection. Bishops, presbyters, and deacons were perfectly at liberty to marry, and, as a matter-of-fact, were generally married. The exaggerated commendation of the supposed superior sanctity of a single life, which finds so prominent a place in Romanism, is condemned by the life and practice of the first centuries. The tenderest human instincts, the purest and best feelings of human nature, were not crushed or perverted in the early Church as Romanism crushes or perverts them, producing demoralisation and all manner of frightful abuses and corruptions. Here, amid the pristine vigour of Christian life, we find no trace of the stern and gloomy ascetic spirit from which, later on, sprang all the strange phenomena of monachism with their blended influence of good and evil, the latter preponderating to an alarming extent. Primitive Christianity appears to have been eminently cheerful and social in its character, consecrating family life, and developing in a remarkable degree the domestic virtues. The Catacombs abound with references to conjugal, parental, filial, and fraternal affection. Godly men and women devoted themselves willingly to Christian service, but this devotion did not involve an abnegation of home life and a cloistered seclusion. From these abodes of the dead there come across the centuries voices of protest, branding as pernicious and unnatural the enforced celibacy and monkish seclusions of Rome.

The instruction of the young, and of those recently converted from Paganism, demanded and received special attention at the hands of the Christian teachers. The Catechumens, or learners, constituted a distinct class, and comprehended the children of believers, and those who had recently abandoned Paganism and needed weaning from old errors and habits and instructing more fully in the doctrines of Christianity. Romanism, we fear, comes

nearer the primitive Churches in this attention to the young than Protestantism, and takes a firmer hold of them. One great defect in the Protestant Churches is the loose supervision exercised over the children of believers. It was not so among the early believers, it ought not to be so now. On the institutions of the Church there is much interesting information obtained from the Catacombs. Baptism, if we accept the evidence of ancient epigraphy, was administered at all ages from tender infancy to adult years, according as the subject of it was of Christian birth, or a convert from Paganism, and the mode seems to have been by effusion or sprinkling, and not by immersion. All the pictured representations of the rite show this mode, and the early fonts appear to have been adapted for no other. The Christian art of the first centuries affords no evidence in favour of baptism by immersion, and this reticence, to say the least, seems strange if immersion were the original and exclusive mode, divinely appointed and sanctioned by apostolic practice. In the fourth and fifth centuries references to immersion are found, but the evidence supplied by the Catacombs, which is the evidence of an earlier period, affords no trace of this mode. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was frequently celebrated by the early Christians. To them it was the central act of worship, round which all their solemn devotions gathered, and the Catacombs abound with references to it. The agape or lovefeasts, with their attendant collections for the widows and orphans, and for the poor, were frequently observed in the subterranean chapels or crypts. Profoundly interesting is all this old religious life, and valuable is the light which it sheds upon these times of ours. We can note the divergence in doctrine and ritual from primitive Christianity, and in some instances we can trace the divergence up to the germs whence it sprang. The "Catacombs of Rome" contribute an important chapter to the history of Christian dogmas and practices, the careful study of which will more than repay the labour.

A. J.

ART. IV.—THE PASTORAL OFFICE AS SET FORTH IN THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.*

PART I.

BY THE REV. JOHN WATSON.

WHILE there are references to the pastoral office in the most of the Apostolical epistles, it is only from those addressed to Timothy and Titus that anything like a full and clear view can be

* This paper is freely rendered and condensed from an elaborate treatise, entitled, *Die pastoraltheologischen Winke der Pastoralbriefe*, by Deacon Stirm, in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie.*

obtained of its nature and duties. It has, therefore, been the custom in theological academies to develop, by an exegesis of these epistles, a system of Pastoral Theology. The office of a pastor derives indeed its authority from the "Chief Shepherd" Himself, under whom the minister serves, feeding the flock of God. Hence, as Pastoral Theology has been called "a sermon to the preacher to whom no one else preaches," the Pastoral Epistles may, in respect to their main contents, be regarded as discourses on the Saviour's charge to Peter,—"Feed my sheep." The Apostle expressly declared that his special object in writing to Timothy was, to instruct him how to conduct himself in the ruling of the Church. "These things write I unto thee . . . . that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God."—1 Tim. iii, 14, 15.

These epistles do not, however, supply materials for a complete system of Pastoral Theology, as it is now understood. The relations of the minister of Christ vary, to some extent, with every age, which presents to him its special problems and work. Moreover, the letters themselves lay no claim to completeness; many things are only briefly indicated; others are entirely wanting. It must not be forgotten that Paul hints at his speedy coming, and therefore only sends beforehand what, under the circumstances of that time, had to be particularly kept in view. "These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly."—1 Tim. iii, 14. But while this portrait of an evangelical pastor is sketched for us in somewhat general outlines, its main features must be reproduced in every delineation of his personal and official character. And if this first sketch is not a finished one, and lacks in some respects the charm of colour, we have the satisfaction of knowing that the lines are drawn by the pencil of inspiration. In order, however, to make this portrait stand out clearly before us, we must gather together, and present in a connected form, the notices of the pastoral character and office contained in these three epistles.

There is a preliminary question upon which, however, the value of this study essentially depends. Are we warranted in applying the instructions contained in these epistles to the guidance of the ministerial office at the present day? or, in other words, are ministers now in a line with those to whom these counsels were originally given, at least, in regard to their general position and duties? And, first, what were the special functions of the elders, or presbyters (*presbuteroi*), whose identity with the bishops (*episkopoi*) is clear from a comparison of Titus i, v, with verse 7? These were, as the name *episkopos* and the qualifying term *proestotes* (that rule) in 1 Tim. v., 17, indicate, the proper overseers of the Church. It is evident also from the passage just

referred to, that only a part of these elders devoted themselves to the ministry of the word. And some have inferred from the distinction here made between teaching and non-teaching elders that the work of teaching did not originally pertain to the office of an elder. As long as the churches enjoyed the direct instructions of the apostles and their helpers, and individual members of the Church were endowed with a special gift of speaking and teaching, a formal office of instruction within the Christian communities would be unnecessary. But when this state of things gradually ceased to exist, the necessity of a definite teaching office would arise. A further reason for its establishment was the need of an efficacious means of checking the growth of heresy. This is indicated in Titus i. 9, "that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers." The Church itself had to be more thoroughly instructed in "sound doctrine," and in the untenableness of heretical views, that it might be able to withstand the enemies of the truth. Now, who were so fitted to undertake this duty as those men who were already entrusted with the government of the Church? Thus, without any formal arrangement, those elders who united a special talent for teaching with their administrative endowments began to look upon and exercise the *kopian en logo* (labour in the word) as a part of their official duty. But in those elders henceforth to be appointed capacity for teaching had to be regarded as an essential requisite. This seems to have been the rule when these epistles were composed, since it is specially demanded of a bishop that he be "apt to teach," in order to his undertaking, if necessary, the work of instruction to its full extent. According to 1 Tim. v. 17, however, the work of teaching was certainly not then performed by the whole of the elders; and it is immaterial to our purpose whether gradually the whole of them afterwards took up the teaching office, or a part still limited themselves to the ruling of the Church. Ability to teach having to exist in all, it is evident that the union of Church rule with the ministry of the word entered into the apostle's idea of the presbyter's office. It follows, then, that the counsels given by Paul to the bishops or elders may be legitimately applied to the ministry of the present day.

But it is of far more importance and interest for ministers to know whether they may greet Timothy and Titus, whom the Apostle specially addresses, as true colleagues in the work of the Lord. Their position in the churches was, it is true, in some respects one of exceptional authority. They had to carry on and complete the work of the Apostle. "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee." Titus i. 5. They seem to have had no formal ecclesiastical office

(if by office is understood the fixed commission to execute certain tasks), but were temporarily entrusted with definite missions, and placed over the elders in those churches to which Paul sent them. Some of the Apostle's counsels refer therefore to their apostolical vicarship; but the most of them apply to the duties of the ordinary pastoral office, which was comprehended under their chief pastoral relation. Thus Timothy is exhorted to attend to the proper duties of a Presbyter—"to reading (the public reading of the Scriptures), to exhortation, to doctrine." 1 Tim. iv., 13. Altogether, the various instructions given to Timothy and Titus are of such a character that the elders who read them might also take them to themselves, and as to shew, moreover, that Paul regarded his two friends as essentially religious teachers. Finally, the reason why Paul, the noblest bearer of the pastoral office here brought before us, places himself in the fore-front in these epistles, is that he may instruct and encourage his sons in the Gospel in their ministry of the Word by the views which he opens to them of his inner life and experience as a minister of Christ. It is also worth remarking, that whenever he magnifies his office he puts himself on a level with all preachers of the Gospel by calling himself a preacher (*keruks*) and teacher (*didaskalos*). 1 Tim. ii. 7.

As these remarks may suffice to shew the application and use of the hints contained in these epistles to the ministry of this day, we will now proceed to the grouping of them, help towards which is given us by the Apostle himself in the charge: "Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine." 1 Tim. iv., 16. If we take a part for the whole, we find in "the doctrine" reference to the office in general; from which therefore the distinction between the person of the minister and his administration of office naturally follows. It will be better, however, to place the latter in the foreground, since it is only from knowing what his office requires that we can judge of what he ought to be in respect to personal character and endowments.

There is a definite name for the ministerial office in 1 Tim. iii. 1. "If any man desire the office of a bishop" (*episkopes*). It is therefore one of superintendence, and, according to verse 5, of the Church of God (*ekkesia theou*). The Apostle calls this office "a good work," esteeming it necessary however to preface this declaration with the assertion, "It is a faithful saying;" conscious, as he was, that there would not be found many in the world to subscribe to it. For in what does the glory of the episcopal office consist? In this, that the bishop is "the steward of God" (*theou oikonomos*). Titus i. 7. This honourable title lifts the "good" (*kalon*) far above the horizon of those who are not able to judge spiritually, while it gives at the same time profound views of the ministerial vocation, according to the Apostle's conception of its nature.

The bishop is "the steward of God," set over the "house of God," that is, the Church.—1 Tim. iii, 15. The real master of the house (*despotes*) is God, the minister being entrusted in his name and place with the management of the household. The ministerial office has, therefore, a double side. A steward who rules the household, by order and in the name of his master, stands between the master and the members of the household in such a way, that he is, on the one hand, the *servant* of the lord, and, on the other hand, over against the household, his *representative*, invested with a certain authority. *Service* and *rule* are combined in the position of every steward; and, therefore, in that of "the steward of God." Strictly speaking, the position of authority assigned him belongs to his service. He must stand at the head, and is not permitted to give up the chief management committed to him. Towards the Master, then, ministers are servants, having a definite circle of duties; but towards the Church, though their service is rendered within it and for its good, endowed with a certain governing power. The names by which they are designated in these epistles represent the two sides of their office—that of service, for instance, in 1 Tim. iv., 6, where Timothy is called *diakonos Jesou Christou* (minister of Jesus Christ), and in 2 Tim. ii., 24, *doulos kuriou* (servant of the Lord), while that of oversight or rule is indicated by the title *episkopos* (bishop), which denotes one entrusted with the duties, and therefore with the rights, of an overseer, and also by the word *prostenai*, 1 Tim. iii., 4, &c., and the designation *proestotes presbuteroi* (the elders that rule), 1 Tim. v., 17. But, of course, the relation of service to the Master comes the most fully into the foreground, on which account the office of Timothy is called a *diakonia* (ministry).—2 Tim. iv., 5.

In what this *diakonia* consists, the term "steward" clearly shows. A steward has duties both towards the goods of the house and the members thereof. He has to guard the property, and to see that every inmate of the house receives what is his rightful due. There is, in the first respect, something important committed to his fidelity by his Master. In 1 Cor. iv. 1. Paul tells us what it is that is entrusted to "the steward of God," *oikonomos musterion theou* (steward of the mysteries of God). There is an indication of it in these epistles, in an expression doubtless somewhat indefinite, the relationship of which, however, to the idea involved in *oikonomos* cannot be denied. Twice Paul counsels Timothy thus: *ten paratheken phulakson*, 1 Tim. vi. 20, and 2 Tim. i. 14. ("Keep that which was committed unto thee"). The *paratheke* is a deposit which Timothy has to guard, and which according to the context seems to be the truth of the Gospel that was committed to him. It is placed in the first of

the above-mentioned passages in contrast with "the profane and vain babblings," &c., of false teachers, and in the second in connection with the true saving doctrine. The steward of God has to defend and preserve this possession, to keep it intact and uncorrupted. That much contested passage 1 Tim. iii. 15 teaches also that this property is deposited in "the house of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth." Many expositors consider the clause which is here in apposition, "the pillar and ground of the truth," as the beginning of verse 16, so that "the mystery of godliness" spoken of therein would be the pillar and ground of the truth. In harmony, however, with the most of ancient and modern exegetes we regard "the house of God"—the Church—as "the pillar and ground of the truth;" not indeed in the Roman Catholic sense, but that the Divine truth which has been lodged in the Church is maintained by her and preserved in the earth. True, the Lord of the Church Himself preserves His Word by the Holy Spirit. But, then, the theatre of the Spirit's activity is the Church, whose members are drawn into and kept in the service of Christ by His influence. Hence, Timothy is admonished to keep this deposit by the Holy Spirit. 2 Tim. 1. 14. But while the work of preserving the truth devolves upon the entire Church, it is the special business of the "steward of God" to watch over it. It is therefore committed to the charge of Timothy and Titus and the elders in a series of exhortations; which indicate also that it has to be performed in a two-fold way. This double method is set forth in precise form in Titus i. ix.: "That he may be able by sound doctrine both to *exhort* and *convince* the gainsayers." Instruction in sound doctrine, and the defence of it against every attack, form together the work of the minister in respect to the preservation of the truth. In fulfilling the former part of this duty he appears as *the teacher of the Church*, who must make its members acquainted with the doctrines of the Gospel, 2 Tim. ii. 2; preach the Word of God, 2 Tim. iv. 2; and, in general, communicate in every suitable way Divine truth, 1 Tim. iv. 13. We come here into contact with that other side of the *service* of a steward which relates to his care for the members of the household. In so far as this care consists in imparting to each one his due share in the household goods, the steward of God gives himself to it by exercising his teaching office, which is essentially a distribution of the goods of the Divine household among the members of the Divine family. Hence, his labours to preserve that which has been committed to him, and his solicitude for those placed under him, partly coincide. But only in part. For the positive teaching of the truth is only the one way of serving its interests. The other way is that of resisting all attacks upon it. This second method impresses the teacher of the Church

with the character of a warrior. Partly, therefore, in allusion to this aspect of his calling Paul speaks of the *stratia* (warfare) of Timothy, 1. i, 18, and calls him a *stratiotes Christou* (soldier of Christ) 2. ii, 3. At least, this first expression indicates, by its reference to the charge committed to Timothy to contend against false doctrine, a certain warlike attitude, which has to be assumed by him who is entrusted with the defence of the truth against its adversaries. The readiness for conflict which is required of the teacher of the Church fully agrees also with the idea of a steward, whose duty it is to defend the goods committed to him against every assault.

We have now to consider the other side of the position of a steward, namely, his government or rule. Bengel observes of the word *episkopos* (bishop): "the power of a bishop is indeed circumscribed, but he has still some authority." The circumscription of his power may indeed be directly inferred from the figure of a steward, which implies that it is an authority committed to him by the Master for His own ends, and must therefore be in no case used selfishly and arbitrarily, but in harmony with the Master's mind and will. The example of him who believes that he has a special right to the title of "representative of Christ," strikingly shows that in the exercise of this power there is imminent danger of unduly extending its limits. Every minister is, in truth, according to Paul's view of him, as "the steward of God," a representative of the Lord of the Church. But this very conception of his relation to the Church is the best fitted to destroy every idea of real sovereignty. A steward has only to see that the domestic order established by the master himself continues in force, both the constitution of the family in general and the position of the individual members corresponding with this view. As far, therefore, as the ruling side of his position is concerned, the duty of "the steward of God" is to be regarded as substantially that of church guidance and oversight.

But though the comparison of a bishop with a steward gives the most valuable insight into the nature of the ministerial vocation, it is not sufficient of itself to furnish a complete representation of it. It may suffice for the correct understanding of the *governing action* of a bishop to refer to the position of a steward. But the circle of duties pertaining to his *service* is too limited, if nothing but the work of teaching in its double aspect (as positive instruction in doctrine and defence of it against attack) is reckoned to belong thereto; and this is all that the figure of a steward in respect to service supplies. The discharge of these duties does not bring the minister into that direct and living relation to the individual members of the Church which the pastoral epistles clearly suppose. Apart from a number of passages which,

as we shall afterward see, specially refer to this subject, it may be drawn from the entire view which the Apostle takes of the relation of the Church to its leader, that he must not restrict himself to that action and influence on its membership as a whole which is associated with the exercise of his teaching office; but must attend to individual souls, devoting himself to them according to their spiritual necessities. Thus, the above-mentioned circle of duties pertaining to the *service* of "the steward of God" must be enlarged so as to embrace pastoral labour for the individual members of the Church, that is, "the cure of souls." This, therefore, will complete the enumeration of the main spheres of ministerial labour as set forth by St. Paul in these epistles.

Before, however, we enter with the apostle into these spheres in detail, there are certain representations which he gives of the general manner in which the office has to be administered claiming our attention. The encouraging exhortation given to Timothy, who was cast down with the weight of his office and his sorrowful experiences in connection with it, indicates how much the entire spirit in which it has to be fulfilled must correspond with its high importance. 2 Tim. i. 7. Paul calls upon him to stir up the gift (*to charisma*) which had been bestowed upon him, adding that the spirit God had given to his servants was "not a spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind." This spirit is not, however, (as many expositors will have it) merely that which is given to all Christians, as if the Apostle would point out to the servant of the Gospel his duty from the general character of the Christian. Its close relation to *charisma* (gift) in verse 6 is against this view, since it would be a strange way of arguing to say: "Do not leave thy official gift unemployed, for thou hast received, like all Christians, even those to whom no office is committed, a spirit of power," &c. On the contrary, there is in this passage an intimation that the Holy Spirit produces, in a special way in ministers of Christ, power, love and a sound mind, because they specially need these virtues, in keeping with the Apostle's declaration in 1 Cor. xii. 7, that the Holy Ghost variously distributes his gifts according as every one has need. These gifts which the Spirit bestows upon ministers correspond, moreover, with the qualities which they must specially manifest in the administration of their office. There is, first, power (*dunamis*). The servant of Christ must be of a powerful, energetic character, shunning no exertion and danger; in opposition to the spirit of fear (*deilia*)—the softness and effeminacy of character that recoils with dread from difficult and dangerous toil, which, as it is unworthy of Christians in general, is specially unworthy of the leader of the Church. The manly resolution and unflinching energy so conspicuously manifested by Paul himself is the first

requisite for successful labour in a calling which presents so many difficulties. But men of a strong, energetic nature easily fall into the danger of using their superiority in office for selfish ends. A second quality, love (*agape*), must therefore be added. The reference of the whole verse to the official labours of Timothy shows what sort of a love this is. It is loving devotion to the Master who has appointed him to office, and to the Church within which he has to labour for this Master. This love places all the power which the minister of Christ possesses at the disposal of his Lord, and impels him also to make the most painful sacrifices for His cause. In this love there is rooted the "sound mind" (*sophronismus*)—the self-control which keeps down every impulse which would hinder his striving towards one end, and which gives to the whole of his labours an intense and straightforward purpose. Thus does the Apostle in this beautiful triad depict the general spirit of true ministerial activity—that spirit of powerful energy, of loving consecration, and sober self-restraint, is the spirit in which the "servant of Christ" must fulfil the duties of his sacred office.

Another triad in the same epistle portrays this spirit with more direct reference to the active service of the minister of Christ. It consists of three pictures, in which Timothy is represented as soldier, an athlete, and a husbandman. (2 Tim. ii. 4-6.) If we look for the salient point in each of these figures, the last, that of a husbandman, presents at once the most general rule which can be given to one who has an occupation, namely: *he must work.* For, however the passage may be expounded in detail, the emphasis, at any rate, lies upon the expression "that laboureth" (*kopionta*). Nevertheless, if "the husbandman that laboureth" were without anything further to be identified with the "labourer" (*ergates*) in general (1 Tim. v. 18), we might pass over this representation as containing nothing but what is self-evident. But the comparing of his labour with that of a husbandman gives to it a special character, stamping it as peculiarly toilsome, which (though only figuratively expressed) has to be performed in the sweat of his face. (Gen. iii. 17-19.) The word *kopion* (labour) is therefore repeated in many forms (1 Tim. iv. 10, v. 17) to describe the service of the minister, indicating that it must be rendered with the utmost energy and with unwearied zeal.

Closely related to this is the demand for *exclusive* devotion to his calling which the figure of a soldier brings into relief. "No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life" —that is, he does not engage himself in the ordinary occupations of civil life—"that he may please Him who hath chosen him to be a soldier." But does this mean that "the soldier of Christ" must give up all concern for what does not immediately relate to

his office? We need not refer to the Apostle's own example as contradicting this view, since the word *emplekesthai* (entangleth) obviates such a misunderstanding of his meaning. The main point enforced is, that occupation with secular matters must not be an entanglement; it must not make such demands upon thought and strength and time that the office shall suffer thereby. The law of the Catholic Church, which decisively prohibits the clergy from engaging in what are called non-clerical occupations, does not prevent this entanglement, as the door is still open for all those fanciful pursuits that absorb the strength and joy of ministerial activity, against which Bengel launched his well-known phillipic:—"He who gives himself wholly to them (*toutois*, 1 Tim. 4, 15) will be less in worldly boon companionships; he will less engage in the study of other things, in collecting books, shells, coins, in which many pastors unawares waste a considerable part of their life." No objection can indeed be taken to the "study of other things" on its own account; but to the being given up to them, to such a passionate devotion to them as will hinder genuine ministerial labour. There stands in opposition to this entanglement with secular matters the short but expressive charge:—"Meditate on these things; be thou (*isthi*) wholly in them." (1 Tim. iv. 15.) As "these things" refer to counsels given in the verses 12-14 respecting the right administering of office, this exhortation is meant to teach that the main care of a minister ought to be to perform the duties of his office in a proper way, and that those things which relate to it ought to be the very element in which he moves. His office not merely claims particular parts of his ability or particular sides of his activity; but the whole man (*isthi*), the entire person. It follows, then, that his entire course of action, even when it has no direct bearing upon the duties of his office, must stand in a certain relation to the great work of his life, the idea of his office ruling all his aspirations and efforts.

As what has just been said indicates that the entire life of a minister of Christ must be governed by the idea of his calling, the third of these connected representations, that of an athlete (verse 5), leads back again to the restrictions of official activity. It may be presumed of an athlete that he will strive with all his might to gain the prize; but what is here specially noted of him is, that he must strive lawfully (*nomimos*)—that he must submit to the laws of the race-course, neither having recourse to unlawful means for gaining the victory, nor trying to lighten the task by avoiding anything which is required of him. Even in the heathen arena the most popular victor would have forfeited the crown if he had arbitrarily violated the conditions of the strife. And so in the arena of the Christian Church it is self-will which robs an other-

wise right course of conduct of its merit in the eyes of the great Judge. The servant of Christ must strictly abide by the instructions given to him by the Lord of the Church, neither arbitrarily acting in contradiction to them, nor avoiding anything that they require. There is nothing further said in these epistles concerning the first of these points; but the latter is enjoined again in 2 Tim. iv. 5, "Make full proof of thy ministry." Following, as it does, the counsel: "Do the work of an evangelist," this charge to fulfil his ministry evidently means: "Attend to all the duties of thy ministry, and not merely to that of proclaiming the Gospel." The minister may in official life easily give way to that disposition of the natural man to attend by preference to those duties which are pleasant to him, and manifest a one-sided care for particular departments of his work to the neglect of others. The Apostle who speaks elsewhere of the diversity of spiritual gifts cannot indeed censure this predilection for certain parts of the office, since it has its root in natural endowment; he must, however, condemn the neglect of other parts of this office to which this preference may easily lead. Hence the exhortation which He gives to Timothy to attend not only to one part of his duty, but to all, and thus fulfil his office to its entire extent.

According to all this the true "servant of Christ" stands before us as a man who, suppressing all selfish impulses, dovotes himself with the most ardent zeal to his high vocation. There is, however, another trait of character to be noted, drawn from the image of a soldier. As "a good soldier of Jesus Christ," he must be prepared for all the sufferings (*kakopatheson*) which his ministry may impose upon him. As this quality corresponded with the then troubled condition of the church, and more especially with the state of the champion of the faith himself, who was then in bonds for the gospel, it is frequently emphasized in the second epistle to Timothy. But "to endure hardness," or afflictions, (*kakopatheson*, 2 Tim. ii. 3, and iv. 5), is not spoken of as an altogether special or extraordinary course of conduct; the call to it ranks quite naturally with the other counsels given to Timothy,—a proof that, according to the Apostle, the enduring of every kind of suffering for the gospel's sake appertains, as a matter of course, to the office of a "servant of Christ."

But that which is required of a minister of Christ is, even when stated in this general way, of such weight and importance that one can understand why the apostle felt it necessary to present to his helpers so repeatedly encouraging considerations. Cast down and hindered in his labours by painful trials, the increasing persecution of Christianity, the mournful fate of his spiritual father, by the spread of false doctrine, and manifold opposition to his work, Timothy specially needed to be exhorted to stir up the gift

that was in him, and with renewed joy and strength to lift up his head. But even in quiet times ministers, when confronted with the responsible and lofty claims of their office, are apt to despair of themselves and of their powers; and are, therefore, glad to find in these pastoral letters, scattered among the earnest counsels of the Apostle, so many encouraging hints to re-animate their zeal. Even a Paul felt again and again his need of a strengthening draught from the source of comfort. How he rises to renewed joy in his sufferings by the thought of the lofty call he had received! "Whereunto I am appointed a preacher and an apostle." (2 Tim. i. 11.) In his lowest depths of suffering he keeps before his mind the lofty post of honour which God had assigned unto him; the certainty flowing therefrom that the cause in which he was engaged could not be a losing one, inspiring him with new courage. Should not this consideration, that the office is of God, give to each one who bears it a like confidence? But he not only reminds his friends of the help which was vouchsafed unto them, but of the Divine power that worked in them (*kata dunamin theou*); especially in the assurance that they had not received of God "the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind." He endeavours also to animate the zeal of his helpers by referring them to his own example—the example of a master equally great in heroic patience and successful action, (2 Tim. ii. 2) &c., as when there follows the stirring call to Timothy: "Be not thou, therefore, ashamed of the testimony of the Lord," &c., the noble declaration: "Nevertheless, I am not ashamed," &c. (2 Tim. i. 8, 12.) Finally, there comes into view in connection with this and that exhortation to faithfulness the reward which awaits the faithful servant of the Lord. Each of those figures which portray so clearly the work of a minister contains some reference to the recompence which will follow the loyal discharge of the duties of his office. To win the applause of his captain, to be crowned with the garland of victory, and to enjoy the fruits of his labour is the prospect held out to the minister of Christ. And as lawful striving towards the goal is the essential condition of reaching it, so the forward look to the goal is again a stimulus to lawful striving. This threefold representation indicates also what the goal consists in: it points—at least the two latter figures—to the time when the conflict shall have ended and the harvest come. The Apostle himself looked hopefully forward to the reward in heaven (2 Tim. ii. 11, and iv. 7) &c., stirring himself up thereby to renewed activity and joy. How much more necessary is it for those bearers of this office who can boast of no such spiritual gifts and powers as he to keep their eyes fixed upon the promised reward!

(*To be continued.*)

ART. V.—THE ROMEWARD MOVEMENT IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND; ITS SOURCES AND PROBABLE RESULTS.

SECOND PAPER.

LET us now look at the personal influences which are working the great changes in the Church of England of which we have spoken in the last November AMBASSADOR. The complete history of the "Tractarian Movement" will perhaps never be written: certainly it is not yet written. Still, sufficient is known of it to justify the statement that Tractarianism is to all practical intents and purposes a conspiracy against the Protestantism of the Church of England. In speaking of the personal element in originating and determining the present Romeward Movement it is impossible to omit reference to three men who, each in his own way, and all of them collectively, have done more for Tractarianism than perhaps all the other sharers in the movement put together. The first to be mentioned is John Keble, the poet of the party. In the year 1827 appeared the first edition of a book which has had perhaps a greater circulation than any volume of religious poems of the nineteenth century. In a recent address delivered in Manchester Mr. Mackonochie traces the beginning of the Ritualism of the present day to the publication of the "Christian Year." Some one with a deep insight into human nature has said, "Let me make the ballads of a nation, and I care not who makes its laws." Equally well may it be said that the hymns of a church have a large influence upon its life. Prior to the appearance of Keble's book the hymnal worship of the Church of England had been almost exclusively restricted to the barbarous, uncouth hymns of Sternhold and Hopkins. But with the appearance of the "Christian Year" commenced a new era in Church worship. Mr. Keble's is eminently the poetry of symbolism, and that, with the classic purity, and the deep spirituality of the book, produced a deep and general impression on the Church. Dr. Newman says, "Keble struck an original note, and woke up in the hearts of thousands a new music, the music of a school long unknown in England:" and so powerful was the influence of this music that we cannot hesitate to place its composer among the chief originators of modern Ritualism.

The second name is that of John Henry Newman. Newman was one of the first, as he is certainly the most illustrious, of all the perverts who have gone to Rome from the Establishment. In his "Apologia" he gives a most interesting and often touching account of the experiences through which he passed and which issued in his forsaking the communion and companionships of his

youth. Like his beloved friend Keble, Dr. Newman was greatly dissatisfied with many things in the Anglican church, and, to obtain a solution of problems that troubled him, he set himself to a close examination of the Fathers, which led him to accept the principle that "Antiquity"—by which he understood not so much that of apostolic as post-apostolic times—"was the true exponent of the doctrines of Christianity and the basis of the church." During many years before his secession there was present in his mind a feeling "that there is something greater than the Established Church, and that that is the Church Catholic and Apostolic, set up from the beginning, of which she is but the local presence and organ." He also came to see that "the present communion of Rome is the nearest approximation in fact to the church of the Fathers;" he thought this especially true of the dogmatic teaching of that church. As time passed on the process of development in Dr. Newman's religious views slowly advanced, during which he was actively engaged in that movement with which his name will ever be connected until the crisis was reached in 1841. In that year he wrote the famous "Tract Ninety," in which, to use his own words, he showed that "The Articles of the Church of England do not oppose the Catholic teaching of the early centuries," and that "they but partially oppose the formal dogmas of Rome as contained in the later councils, especially the Council of Trent, and as condensed in the creed of Pope Pius the Fourth." The storm of indignation with which the Tract was received convinced him that he could have no more place in the Establishment, and after two or three years, in 1845, he was received into communion with the Church of Rome; and now for a long time he has, so to speak, been buried in his Oratory at Birmingham. A generation has passed away since Dr. Newman left the Church of England, but it is impossible to measure the influence which, during that time, he has exercised in that church. He is a man of such lofty intellect, combined with such a tender and loving disposition; of such saintly and unsullied life; of such conscientiousness, moreover, at the bidding of which he has sacrificed prospects of the most brilliant character, that his loss to the Church of England is estimated by those who should best know as nothing less than a calamity!

The third name in the Trio is that of Edward Bouverie Pusey, the *scholar* and *theologian* of the party. It is not too much to say there is not an Englishman living whose personal influence in the Anglican Communion is greater than that of Dr. Pusey. His thorough knowledge of Patristic and Mediæval literature is unsurpassed, especially the former. He has had entrusted to him the theological training of a greater number of clergymen than

any other tutor; indeed, from the length of time he has been Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford two generations of ministers must have come within the direct circle of his power. Dr. Pusey joined the Tractarian Movement in 1833, and, although at that time he was comparatively young, "his great learning, his immense diligence, his scholar-like mind, his deep religious seriousness, gave him a vast influence in his University;" and that influence, which has continued to increase, has been of such a character that the late eminent Bishop of St. David's did not hesitate to declare that "Dr. Pusey is responsible for the evils which distract the church beyond any other man." This is a very strong opinion, though, no doubt, it is one with which many persons in the church fully agree; but whether correct or not, so far as the personal element in the sources of the Romeward movement in the Church of England is concerned, we do not hesitate to assign to Dr. Pusey a very high place.

The Tractarian Party, or, as it is now called, the Ritualists, includes other men who have attained to considerable eminence; but the three we have named, from causes which our brief references to them have sufficiently indicated, have exercised greater power than all the rest; and, if ever the history of the party should be written by some one fully competent for the task, we have no question but that to Keble, Newman, and Pusey will be given pre-eminent distinction.

There is one other source of the power of the Romeward Movement which, in such a disquisition as the present, must not be overlooked. In his "Congregational Lectures on the Causes of the Corruptions of Christianity," Dr. Vaughan directs special attention to the fact that the most powerful cause is in the corruption of human nature itself. In perfect agreement with this, the late learned bishop of St. David's, Dr. Thirlwall, remarks to the effect that, "The strength of Romanism lies in the weakness of human nature." With these statements our own judgment fully concurs, and in this "corruption," this "weakness," we find the deepest, the strongest source of the power of that movement with which we are now dealing. The mental indolence and the moral credulity of the great majority of our fellow men, especially in relation to questions of religion, are truly astonishing, and, in every age of the world, have been largely used by a dominant priesthood to keep the people in bondage. We often boast, and not without reason, of the intellectual progress which has been made since the darkness of the Middle Ages; but we venture the assertion that in those ages the imbecility of human nature, in some of its aspects, was not greater than can be seen at the present. Look at the "childish fondness" shown by thousands of people for a "pompous and glittering ceremonial" in divine worship! A plain, simple, spiritual service is too cold, too

bald; there is nothing in it to please the eye or to satisfy the taste; such a service is altogether out of harmony with "the æsthetics of worship"; hence there must be the warmth of colour, the beauty of form, the sweetness of music, as though these things only or chiefly constituted the essentials of that worship due to the living and infinite God! For the worship which every man owes to his Creator and Redeemer we would not advocate a service the ceremonial of which should be dry and bald as the arid waste, but, of the two, rather than consent to the mere display of trumpery gewgaws for which many so called Protestants have such a fancy, we would plead for a worship as free from "form" as would satisfy the most rigid "Friend" of the type of George Fox himself!

There is also an *intellectual slavery* to which immense numbers of our fellow-countrymen submit, which is their reproach and curse. Evidence of this is often seen in political and social life, but its consequences are disastrous indeed in religious life. It may be that in the government of the nation it is well for men to divide themselves into "parties," each with its recognised leaders, to whom the rank and file of the party should submit. The surrender of a man's own mind to the mind of his chief on an occasion when the interest of the whole body is threatened is a surrender both honourable and proper, but the case is altogether different in things connected directly with the soul and God. Man's responsibility to God is personal, direct, complete; it cannot be shared by another; hence arises the paramount duty of each man to investigate for himself all statements which claim to be the truth of God. But in the place of this, what do we see? On the one hand a widespread sluggish credulity, which believes anything; and ont he other great numbers who give themselves up to an ignorant and flippant scepticism which believes nothing. This most lamentable condition of the public mind has been of untold service to Rome, and is indeed one of the main pillars upon which the vast structure of her superstition rests. Men are either too cowardly or too indolent to accept the burden of their own responsibility, and are ready to shift the burden to others, the consequence being that multitudes receive their "religion" at second hand; their minds are given up to their "spiritual guides," many of whom are "blind guides." Priestcraft has ever aimed at the enthralment of mind, and has then used its victim for the increase of its power. Whence arises the fact that so many of the Anglican clergy are repudiating the blood-bought Reformation of our brave ancestors? One of the fundamental principles, as it was one of the great triumphs, of the Reformation was the liberation of intellect from the control of the priests; and, when that control is lost, priestcraft must ever seek to regain it. Such an effort is now being made in our land as well as in others, and should it

succeed, terrible will be the result. We have seen what followed such a success elsewhere. In France, for generations, the divorce between intellect and Christianity was almost complete, solely in consequence of the nation lying at the feet of "the Church." In Spain, also, once the noblest and most powerful kingdom in the world, the people were crushed beneath the tyranny of the priests. We sometimes mourn over the infidelity of our own land, but surely honest doubt is to be preferred to that craven superstition which calls itself "religion." Catholicism, whether Roman or Anglican, has no force except in the presence of mental sloth. When men will not give the labour required to search for what is true, they become the dupes of an arrogant priesthood.

In speaking of the probable results of this Romeward Movement it will become us to speak with caution. As to what *will* occur in the future it would be presumptuous for us to say. He who has His way in the whirlwind and who maketh the clouds His chariot will doubtless, in His own time, cause circumstances, apparently unfavourable, to conduce to the working out of His own high purposes. Church history shows that "He is a God that hideth Himself," but that at the right hour He comes forth in His might and makes "the wrath of man to praise Him": and, if the outlook upon the Church of the Lord Jesus were much more gloomy than it really is, the words of the ancient decree—"Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion"—would sound to us as a note of assurance that all will end well. That the result of the present Romeward Movement will not be a mere patched up peace—another "compromise" between the contending parties—seems certain. The struggle in the Church has gone too far for such a compromise. The first "probable result" (not taking into account individual perversions to Rome, which are constantly occurring) will be a large secession from the Establishment, and the formation of an English Catholic Church having some kind of fellowship with Rome. Is this view not favoured by what has taken place among the "Old Catholics" on the Continent, who are so ably led by Dr. Dollinger? The Romish party in the English Church have had to bear a few blows, but the last is certainly the heaviest, and the indications are not trifling that the blow is being severely felt. We refer again to the Ridsdale judgment in the Folkstone case. That judgment produced a remarkable correspondence, which appeared in most of the papers at the time. A clergyman, who subscribed himself "Presbyter Anglicanus," wrote to Cardinal Manning, whom he addressed in a style which fully recognised all the prerogatives and dignities of a "Prince of the Church," as to his reception, and that of others like-minded with himself, into communion with Rome. The writer stated certain difficulties which were in the way, as, for instance, that some of

them were not celibates; but he gave the Cardinal to understand that, if these difficulties could be met, and Rome would open her door, he and others would be prepared to enter. A number of letters appeared from persons who repudiated all connection with "Presbyter Anglicanus" and his proposal, some of whom declared that the dogma of the Pope's Personal Infallibility would effectually prevent *their* going to Rome. But another proposal followed, viz., Cannot there be a Church in England, in all respects Catholic except on the one point of corporate union with Rome, as Mr. Orbey Shipley represents it, "A Unial Church"? Now, what does all this portend but the high probability that within a comparatively short time the Establishment will of itself split into two or three sections? Dr. Littledale well describes the Church when he speaks of it as a "cluster of sects," and the signs are very ominous that the strain upon the binding principle which holds those "sects" in a "cluster" is becoming too severe. This seems to be the great fear entertained by one who, while he is the greatest English Statesmen of the age, is also a most devoted friend of the Church. In that able article on the question, "Is the Church of England worth Preserving,"* Mr. Gladstone argues that the several parties in the Church should restrain themselves, should bear and forbear. The writer of that article sees clearly that the probable result of the internal strife which rages within the Establishment will be an actual and open division: he speaks of the increase of strength which the Church has gained during the last twenty-five years; and admits, although for her present purposes she may be possessed of a sufficient fund of strength, there is no redundancy that can be safely parted with. "Any secession, if of sensible amount, constituting itself into a separate body, would operate on the National Church, with reference to its nationality, like a rent in a wall, which is mainly important, not by the weight of matter it detaches, but by the discontinuity it leaves." As Mr. Froude truly says, "The Church of England was built out of the demolished masonry of Rome;" and we think the material and the building are now in such a condition that, notwithstanding the fervent appeals of the late Prime Minister, the probability becomes stronger every day that the "rent in the wall" will become visible, and there will be a secession from the English Church large enough to "constitute itself into a separate body;" and then, what next? There is but one word by which this question can be answered—DISESTABLISHMENT.

That the Church of England will have its connection with the State dissolved, and that at no very distant period, is an assertion which does not need a very bold man to make. There is a rapidly

* See "Contemporary Review," July, 1875.

rising tide of public opinion in that direction, the surge of which will compel our legislature to perform the supreme act of justice which will place all religious communities on a level of perfect equality before the law. But, taking into account the ceaseless irritation and internecine war within the Church herself, what was *probable*, we venture to say, becomes all but *certain*. This is clearly seen by all, save, perhaps, those who are wilfully blind, and by no one more distinctly than by Mr. Gladstone. In the article from which we have already quoted we find one most pregnant sentence,—"It is certain, nevertheless, that the splitting of the Church will destroy its union with the State." Such a declaration from so great an authority sounds like the knell of doom, and it is a doom towards which the Church is hastening. The Liberation Society are acting most wisely in directing their efforts mainly in meeting the challenge given them in the House of Commons a few years ago by Mr. Gladstone, that they should endeavour to create a public opinion on the subject. This they are doing very effectually, and it will be well for them to confine themselves to the work of preparing the public mind for the catastrophe which is sure to come. The Romanisers in the Church are doing more towards its disestablishment and disendowment than any other party can do, for they are "splitting" the Church itself; and what can be more certain than, should there be a seceding body, that that body will be the most vehement in its desire and determined in its resolution that the portion which remains shall not have a monopoly of the honours and emoluments which arise from connection with the State; and thus the Establishment, placed as it were between two stools, must fall to the ground! And then what will follow? *Perfect religious equality for all denominations.* Here opens before us a very wide field for speculation, into which we must not enter further than to say, inequality, the great cause of strife, being out of the way, the different religious denominations of the country will have full opportunity to devote their material and moral energies to the one work to which the Church of Christ is really called,—the evangelization of the world.

Yes, surely such is the *true work* of the Church. But is there not a danger that in these days of tumult that work will not be attended to with the zeal and power required? But while the struggle continues may we not ask ourselves, What is the place and influence of our own church in these critical times? We do not claim for our Church the power possessed in the country by others which could be named; still, notwithstanding what some people call our comparative insignificance, we are not ignorant of the moral power we possess: and does it not become us to be careful and faithful in the use we make of it? One duty which is binding upon us is to be earnest in our maintenance of the

principles of Protestantism. Those principles are being violently assailed both at home and abroad, and, although we may not have to climb the heights of the battle-field and enter into the thick of the fray, we can stand firmly by the doctrines and practices which lie at the root of the matter.

We must continue stedfast in the *simplicity and purity of our modes of worship.* There is a demand for ornate worship, which, wherever it is made should be resisted. We have not indeed found much desire for such worship among our people; and the way to prevent it is to endeavour to make the public exercises of religion in our chapels as spiritual and profitable as possible. We have heard some complaints of the slipshod style in which worship is sometimes conducted among us, and not without reason. The homage we owe to our Maker, while it is the homage of the heart, should be rendered with all due reverence and decorum. One of the most eminent Ritualists of the day contends that the well-known passage, "O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness," simply means, "O worship the Lord in *the sacred vestments.*" We shall not debate that point with the learned doctor; what we urge is that we each endeavour by the sweetness, the humility, the holy boldness of our own spirit in pleading the Name of our Great High Priest, to lead our people in their congregational worship to enter so fully into the Divine Presence that, realising the unseen glory, they may never be in danger of desiring the vain substitute of Ritualistic show and parade.

We must also in *our preaching give due prominence to the central doctrines of Christianity.* In all things that bear upon men's relation to God, and his real moral condition, we must maintain the sufficiency and supremacy of Holy Scripture. Tradition and dogma, however venerable, decrees of councils, sent forth with whatever authority, must be tested by the infallible Word. We must preach the doctrine of man's natural depravity, the death of our Lord Jesus Christ as the only atonement for sin, the absolute necessity of the new birth, the renewal of the soul by the power of the Holy Spirit, the inseparable connection between "Christ being formed in the heart" and personal holiness: these, and all kindred subjects, must be the substance of our preaching. But, if special emphasis is to be laid on one thing more than another, let it be on the doctrine of *Justification by Faith in Christ alone.* Luther spoke of this as the "crucial doctrine, the real test of the fidelity of a Church to the gospel of Christ; by accepting or rejecting it a Church stands or falls. Theologians are right in treating it as the characteristic doctrine of Protestantism. The deepest question in controversy between ourselves and Rome—between ourselves and all those who are drifting towards Rome and trying to carry the nation with them—lies here. Those who

refuse to be called Protestants denounce this doctrine; yes, clergymen of the Anglican Church denounce it not only as false, but immoral. *We* contend that it belongs to the very essence and substance of the gospel."* Let our pulpits give out a certain sound on this vital article of the Christian Faith. We are set not only for the propagation but for the defence of the gospel; the Romeward Movement in the Church of England directly attacks this great doctrine of the Reformation, hence, around it we must throw a special guard. Let our people be distinctly taught that, not by the use of gorgeous ceremonies, not by the utterance of magic words, not by the intervention of a man-made "priest" can the soul, burdened with a sense of sin, have access to God and find pardon and peace. No! but when, with an empty hand and a penitent but believing heart, the guilty sinner trusts in the all-sufficiency of the death of the Lord Jesus, then he obtains the justification which brings peace; the renewal of his nature in righteousness and true holiness which makes him conscious that he is born of God. Follow this with teaching—that all who are partakers of the divine nature must "be careful to maintain good works," and then, so far as our own people are concerned, they will be safe; and our duty as watchmen on the walls of Zion will be efficiently performed.

Simplicity of worship, uncorruptness of doctrine, holiness of life; these are the things to which, as ministers of the Gospel, our constant attention should be given. As citizens we cannot but be interested in the great political and ecclesiastical questions which are moving the country, and which demand and must have a settlement on the basis of justice. We are in duty bound to give to our native land the benefit, such as it is, of our sober, impartial judgment on important questions which involve its material and social prosperity. But we speak to each other now,† specially in our capacity of ministers of the Gospel in the Primitive Methodist Church. We have a noble ancestry. We claim fellowship with all the illustrious dead who shed their blood to win the fair heritage of Freedom and Truth which we possess. We are the immediate successors of men, than whom never were any more apostolic in their zeal, more quenchless in their love for the souls of men, more ardent in their desire for the honour and glory of the Church's Great Head, or who were more distinguished by the success which crowned their work. We are building upon the foundation they laid; we have entered into their labours. They hated Romanism and guarded the people against it, not so much because of any national danger they apprehended, as because they saw it

* "Protestantism: Its Ultimate Principle." By R. W. Dale, M.A.

† This paper was read to the Primitive Methodist Ministers' Association of the Leeds district.

to be a robbery of the prerogatives and dignities of the Son of God. Here is the strongest reason of our opposition to Romanism whether in the Church of England or anywhere else; it blasphemously degrades our exalted Redeemer, and, in doing that, it injures man in his most vital interests. Surely, then, it is one of our highest duties to try by all means in our power, to prevent the spread of such a Christ-dishonouring and soul-destroying system; and if we, with all other Nonconformist ministers, be true to our several denominational traditions, we shall acquire an increased influence in the land, the power of which will be seen in the intellectual freedom and moral elevation of our common country.

ART VI.—THE NEGRO.

"BANQUO'S Ghost," says Dr. Curry, "has done much service in metaphors, and his serviceableness remains." The negro, in turn "slave," "contraband," and "freedman," is the American Banquo. He will not down. Without being in any way responsible for it himself, his *status*, capabilities, and prospects are being brought constantly under the public eye. He has been patronised, flattered, cajoled, slandered, and at last has reached the dignity of being arraigned and indicted before the world. The public attorney, who in this case has volunteered to frame the bill and rhetorically prosecute it, is a Baptist doctor of divinity in Georgia. This brave knight, now tilting against a freedom eternal as the granite hills, in December, 1871, being then a South Carolinian, published in the "New York Examiner and Chronicle" an apology for Ku-kluxism, as remarkable for its misstatement of facts as for the rancour of its spirit. In this defence he charges the United States forces with "midnight intrusion into chambers inhabited by trembling women," "Sabbath investment of churches," "the capture of youths in their teens and of old men far advanced in decrepitude," and with "sweeping the *best and purest men into jails.*" The italics are our own. And in this apology, widely copied and favourably commented on throughout the country, though admitting the terrible doings of the Ku-klux Klan, he says, in extenuation, that "their victims ought to have been punished," and affirms that he "cannot see how any Christian can be true to his people, or his country, or his God, when he encourages these so-called Ku-klux prosecutions," meaning the prosecution of the Ku-klux murderers in the United States Courts.

And now the men who, under slavery, robbed the Negro of all his human rights seek to deprive him of his dearly-bought politi-

cal and social franchises. The plea on which it is sought to justify this spoliation is the Negro's alleged incapacity, and the crimes he is charged with committing and occasioning.

We propose, as far as the limited space at our disposal will permit, to analyse and traverse the indictment already alluded to, giving *excerpta* which, we think, will be found sufficient to discover its solecisms, its sophistries, and its contradictions in figures and facts, on which are based its most absurd and startling charges. The only liberty taken with the text will be to italicise the more important passages.

THE INDICTMENT.

The Negro is "the *lowest* of the human race," in whose behalf "a new political system has been established at the South; a system at variance with the opinions and customs of both races; a system framed by a remote legislature, and enforced by the penal sentences of exotic judges and the martial power of conquerors."*

He has failed, through "want of knowledge and discretion," to satisfy, in "political affinities *and services*," *the expectations of his benefactors.* He has been "deaf to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely." He is "credulous." He has been limited in his choice for office to the "scalawag," the "carpet-bagger," or the "inexperienced Negro." He has reduced bribery to a system, transferred the official desk into "a booth in a market-place, where an *aye* or a *no* may be sold as innocently as a fish or a pancake." He has "swept away every safeguard of property," and instituted "a new reign of terror," the "victim of which is the taxpayer," and the drain one "of money instead of blood." He has increased the public debt in Texas from two to fourteen millions, in Mississippi from nothing to one and one half millions, that of Alabama from eight to forty-two millions, and caused a like increase in other States. He has depleted the public resources, deprived the "tax-payers of the means to respond to the demands of their States and of the General Government." He has "*paralised trade* between the sections, and *commerce* with foreign nations. There is no nation that deals with the South, in New York or Liverpool, whom the Negro legislature have not mulcted." The "system," unless arrested, "will cost the country more than would be required for the transfer of the whole race to Africa."

His "conduct has been dictated neither by gratitude . . . nor malice; . . . for the mercurial and shiftless temper of the African retains neither of these sentiments." "Of allegiance, as a principle and a sentiment, he knows as little as he knew when the emancipation proclamation was published." "The coloured juror

* "International Review," p. 578.

is a failure. He knows but little of the principles of justice and the system of law, and cares less." He has been the cause of an "enormous increase of crime." Theft, perjury, and adultery "are minor, if not venal, offences. . . . Perjury, for example, is so general that the solicitors themselves pass it by. The coloured witness has no sense of the sanctity of an oath." "The Negroes here, as in Africa, are *adepts in stealing.*" Corn-cribs and meat-houses are broken open, and stock is destroyed to such an extent that meat has to be imported from abroad. "Jails cannot hold the convicts."

"There is *little regard for personal purity*, and little conception of the life-long union of mutual hearts." "*Feticide*, heretofore a crime scarcely known among the Negroes, *has become common.*" "They believe that certain charlatans among them are able, by the use of drugs, dried lizards, fetishes of rags and hair, to produce and heal diseases, plant living creatures on the body, and inflict death." "The thin varnish of civilization and sentiment cannot conceal the barbarism of the race." "They are even retrograding morally." Their children "are growing up in idleness and shiftlessness." "Like all the savage races who have been brought into sudden contact with civilization, they merely imitate the manners, and copy and transcend the vices, of the superior race."

"The older Negroes perform about *three quarters* as much work as they did *formerly.*" "Scarcely ever can a spinning-wheel or a loom be found in their retreats of contented, if not elegant, leisure." "On the one hand, this people travesty the family life of civilised societies; and, on the other, display the indistructible instincts of the tribal state." "They will not engage in any service unless compelled by urgent necessity, and when employed are neglectful and resentful to a degree."

"The *enthusiasm* for *education* has surprisingly *decreased.*" "Where there are few or no blacks, the people are enjoying a higher prosperity than they ever had before." "Where Negroes abound, the lands can scarcely find a purchaser."

Their labour "is shiftless, and even capricious." "The Negroes will not push the furrows, . . . they decline to ditch the lands; . . . they refuse to plough thoroughly; they object that 'dere is no use in dese con(in)ventions;' . . . they will not put forth any unusual exertions to save the crops from destruction; . . . the crops dwindle; labour has decreased fully *one half.*" "Every community where Negroes congregate is embarrassed, if not crushed, by the burden." "Stock-raising is impracticable."

"No legislation can induce the whites to send their sons and daughters to school where they must mingle in daily and familiar intercourse with Negroes." "The races are separating. . . . Nowhere are they coming together." "To themselves, (the Negroes),

not less than to the Republic, their transfer to a separate colony would prove of the greatest advantage." "To-day, Mexico fronts these wandering tribes as the land of promise and seat of power." "The Negro would meet, among the sparse population of that vast and fertile domain, such unquestioning hospitalities as our country and our civilization cannot give."

Such is the terrible indictment presented to the civilized world by a Christian minister against five millions of the American people. It could not have been made more sweeping or bitter. If this is the "charming" with which the Christian ministry of the South has sought to charm the Negro, who can be surprised that he has persistently refused to enter its churches, or to give himself up to its teaching and control. However degraded the Negro may be, he is not so stultified and imbecile as to voluntarily place political or ecclesiastical power in the hands of those who would reason and legislate him even out of life itself.

This indictment was evidently never framed for the mind of the North. That mind in the general is too vigorous, too healthy, too discriminating and fair, to be misled by such an obvious misstatement of the moral and social *status* of this great factor in the problem of the nation's future. There may be a few bitter, disloyal minds at the North, as there were all through the great anti-slavery struggle, to whom it will be a sweet and highly-relished political pabulum. But it will nauseate the great and generous mind of the North. It will harden the hearts of those who heretofore would have treated the men of the old South with tenderness. It is obvious, however, that the indictment, as framed by this "accuser of the brethren," this representative of the "rule or ruin" class, is intended for transatlantic, and especially for home, that is, Southern, consumption.

The first-class editors of the North understand, as by instinct, the animus of this article. "The doctor," says the astute editor of "Harper's Weekly," "undertakes to supply the philosophy and statistics for the white man's party conventions and platforms." A systematic and persistent onset, to which even the "International" has bowed its head, has been made upon Northern journalism by arts known only to politicians and agents of the "Associated Press." Those having control of leading newspapers and reviews have been insidiously approached and, in too many cases, unwittingly debauched. It became a fashion, for a time, even for Republican journals to vilify and abuse indiscriminately all of their own party that happened to be in power at the South. The condemnation was sweeping, indiscriminate, and in some instances very unjust. The old slaveocracy was jubilant. They thought they saw, in the abuse of the men intrusted with the offices they longed to fill, a sign of the speedy overthrow of "scalawags," and a presage

of their triumphant return to power. "The white people of the North," says the "Mobile Register," gloating over the success of these conspirators, "have awakened from their nightmare. The Negro is no longer the fashion. The North has come to their senses. The Negro has disgraced and ruined the party which pushed him forward, and the oscillating pendulum of public opinion is now swinging over to the side of the Southern white man. The North have found they could not make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, and have cast Sambo overboard."

When facile pens, like that of the writer in the "International," drop their sugar-coated venom, the deceptively-labeled virus is eagerly absorbed by every toadying sycophant, and by fulsome admiration they spread the contamination through all the lower strata of society. In the general ferment that such utterances occasion, Tax Unions, Rifle and Saber Clubs, Knights of the White Camelia, and White Leagues, (all of which are in spirit, and some in actual aim, identical with the old Ku-klux organizations of 1871-'72), are suggested and evolved. The abuse, the insults, the degrading personal chastisements to which school-teachers, and the ministers of our own and other Northern Churches, have, in numberless instances, been subjected; the murder of Bewley, of Randolph, of Sandy Peebles, of Robert Banks, of B. H. Nelson, of Captain W. B. Billings, of Simon Edwards, of Julia Hayden, (a young lady whose only offence was teaching a few of the outcast class;) of Thomas L. Ivey (for daring to take charge of the United States Mail), and of the Gessner family; the massacres at Coushattee, at Shreveport, La., at Trenton, Tenn., in Coffee County, Ala.; of Vicksburgh, and the establishment of Lynch law in Edgefield County, S. C., and at New Orleans; as well as all the atrocities of the disguised midnight prowlers sent out by the "Grand Cyclops" of the "Devil's Den;" * all these, we say, are directly chargeable to the teachings of such men as the Georgia doctor of divinity.

We find it impossible, in the space usually allotted to a review article, to consider and refute all the counts in so voluminous and minute an indictment. We boldly, however, and with our hand uplifted in the sight of the whole civilized world, and in the sight of a sin-avenging God, say NOT GUILTY! to every charge. We put in the plea not on our own account, for we are not on trial.

* The Hon. Charles Hayes, member of Congress, formerly the largest slaveholder in the State of Alabama, and a soldier in the Confederate army through the war, in a letter to Hon. Joseph R. Hawley dated September 7, 1874, after describing several blood-curdling atrocities that had occurred in his State alone during the preceding thirty days, says: "The half cannot be told. To-day many victims of hellish murder are sleeping in unknown spots and secluded places, from which they will never be awakened until the final judgment day."

We record it in the stead of the voiceless millions we feel it our duty to defend.

The Negro is *not* "the lowest of human races." The Digger Indian, the Camanche and the Modoc, the woolly-haired, prognathous Papuan, the savage Australian, the cannibal South Sea Islander, and several other races, are incomparably lower. The boldness of this assumption takes us back to the good old *ante-bellum* days, when we heard so much of the Negro's compressed *os frontis*, his curious shin, his protuberent heel, and, we blush to name it, his incipient tail. To handle the *debris* of so old a controversy is like stirring the ashes of a forsaken forest fire. If, however, the wasted embers yield but the smallest nugget of gold purified, we shall be justified, if not applauded, for disturbing them. Said Huxley on a great public occasion (and Huxley is an oracle of no mean fame in these days:)—

I hold in my hand an address to a scientific body. In this address it is affirmed that "the skeleton of the Negro can never be placed upright. There is always a slight angle in the leg, a greater in the thigh bones, and still more in the body, until, in some instances, it curves backward. The blood is vastly dissimilar. The molecular movement within the discs differs in every respect, and, when tried with a solution of potassa, the protrusions from the cell-walls take every immediate form, reverting with great rapidity to the normal condition. The hair is very peculiar, three hairs springing from different orifices will unite into one," etc.

"I take this opportunity," said the great incipient evolutionist, "to affix to this statement the stigma of public condemnation." "The African is not the lowest race physiologically. Barrow tells us that he saw a young Kaffir, about twenty years of age, who was six feet ten inches high. "He was," says he, "one of the finest figures that was, perhaps, ever created. He was a perfect Hercules; and a cast from his body would not have disgraced the pedestal of that deity in the Farnese palace." Of other Kaffirs he says: "Their features showed them at once to be equally unconscious of fear, suspicion, and treachery. There is, perhaps, no nation on earth that can produce so fine a race of men as the Kaffirs." Haven tells us that

A distinguished naturalist of Baltimore has been heard to say of the African that he is far superior to the whites in all manly qualities. He is not the lowest race, taking the testimony of ancient history: "Ethiopia swayed the world from Memphis. Ham ruled all mankind from Nineva, and Phenicia, and Carthage. The loves of the Shemite (Æneas) and the Hamite (Dido) were celebrated by Virgil, the daintiest scholar of imperial Rome. Black Ethiopia held generalships in Roman armies, professorships in Greek schools, and bishoprics in Christian Churches."*

* "Haven's Sermons," p. 129.

As a producer, he has been and is far in advance of all but the acknowledged leading nations of the earth. A writer in "Fraser's Magazine" for 1851 says:—

There are African races who yield to no people in the construction of objects of local convenience and luxury. They are known to surpass others in certain fabrics which no European nation has yet succeeded in imitating. The Turkish cap, or fez, the best of which are made in Tunis, is an example. The temper given to steel, especially among the Tuaric tribes of the Sahara, is believed in those countries to rival that for which Damascus was so famed. Woollen garments of certain peculiar texture would at least bear comparison with the best of their kind manufactured by other people. In the manufacture of perfumes they also excel; and they extract an attar from what they call the true yasmin, or jasmine, but what we call the Arabian jessamine, which is far more precious and more powerful than the attar of roses. The soap of Susa is highly and deservedly esteemed in the Levant. It is made with olive oil and "trona"—evidently natron, or soda—from the lakes of Agadez, a district about twenty degrees south and by west of Merzouk in Fezzan, from which district also comes the best senna. The tobacco of the Yawan, behind Susa in Frikia, or Africa proper, and that of the Matamala, or Mountains of Gaba, is in great repute. This herb is not only used as an artificial luxury for man, but as a sovereign specific in the diseases of cattle. Wools admitted to be of the finest merino textures are brought from Cafsa, Toza, Nafta, and the country of the Mezzab, south of the main altars of Algiers. It is used by the Persians, and other manufacturers, in their finest shawls and other fabrics. The carpets or bed coverings, called battonias, are of extraordinary dimensions, as well as beautiful texture, and are highly prized by the Asiatics. The fabrics for the female toilet only a special commissioner from Howell and James would know how to appreciate or even enumerate.

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge has published a little tract, in which it is said of certain African colonists:—

The progress of this coloured settlement during the last forty years has hardly been surpassed by any thing recorded in the history of civilization; and it may, therefore, be said with truth that the Negro has given the lie to the assertion of the ethnological sociologists, who, presuming on his alleged natural inferiority, declared him incapable of taking care of himself. He *has* taken care of himself—has provided by acts of courage and self-denial for the growth of his prosperity, for the education of his children, and for his instruction in the truths of Christianity, and in so doing has for ever solved and settled the question as to his capacity for self-government.

To the charge that he has "*paralyzed trade between the sections, and commerce with foreign nations,*" the only answer needed is

the facts as we have epitomised them from the lucid and reliable articles on the "New South," by De Leon. Preliminary to the epitome we venture the statement that the production of cotton is still more than adequate to the wants of the whole civilized world, reaching in some of the years since the war to five millions of bales, worth not less than two hundred millions of dollars. And the cotton has been raised in the main by Negroes.

"The consumption of cotton in Southern cotton mills," says the authority already referred to, "has increased from 36,547,795 pounds in 1870, to 60,572,120 pounds in 1873." Next in importance is the lumber business. In eight only of the extreme Southern States twenty millions of dollars have been realized from this branch of industry. "In this labour," says De Leon again, "the Negro is freely and profitably employed." "In 1872, in ten of the Southern States, thirteen hundred miles of railway were constructed, and probably as many in 1873 and 1874." All the heavy labour of this construction fell upon the negro. "Mines of coal and iron, unopened before the war, are now being worked with success. Forges, rolling-mills, and founderies are springing up." The exhausting toil demanded by these enterprises the Negro alone can supply. The only trade that has decreased is that dependent upon the production of sugar. We have not space for the statistics of Southern rice plantations, producing fifty-nine million bushels in 1871, and cultivated exclusively by Negroes; nor of the constantly increasing tar and turpentine orchards, the labour on which is mostly black; of tobacco and corn-fields; nor of the fisheries, and phosphate beds, and manufactories of commercial fertilizers; nor of the oyster beds—one bay alone supplying ten millions of bushels annually—a branch of industry which is being developed with singular rapidity; nor of the truck farms, growing to immense importance, supplying all the great cities of the North with early vegetables—all the result of Negro labour.

De Leon says: "Direct commerce with Europe and more distant parts of the world is springing up where it had no foothold before." The great seaport cities are putting themselves in immediate communication with the great commercial *entrepots* of the old world. "In 1870 her [Southern] shipments to foreign ports amounted to 208,567,240 dollars, to which may be added 500,000,000 dollars of domestic exports."

With facts like these, and they are far from being exhausted, where stands the charge that the Negro has destroyed trade and paralysed commerce? He has changed the channels and character of commerce, and the change will enrich the world. The millions freed by the war demand, and are constantly acquiring, furniture, implements, books, pictures, and all the "notions" for which New England is the great manufactory. Before the war a limited and

special trade was done in Negro hats and shoes and hoes. A few costly books, with plate and jewelry, were bought by the favoured few. The great bulk of the money earned by slaves was spent maintaining a few thousands in elegant indolence, or in defraying their expenses at the fashionable resorts of Europe and the North. Now a nation of consumers have come into the market, and the more equally diffused benefits resulting from their purchases are reaped by foreign importers, by city jobbers, by wholesale dealers of every class, and by every mill and factory hand from one end of the land to the other.

The coloured man is purchasing largely of land and cattle. His accumulated savings in money may be counted by millions. He has become the owner of sailing craft, mills, stores, slaughter-houses, brick-yards, and public stables. In short, if we except the German, it is doubtful whether there is a labouring class among us whose accumulations, during the last decade, anything like equal his. And yet we are told that "the system," that is, freedom, "unless arrested, will cost the country more than would be required for the transfer of the whole race to Africa." So long as we keep them here, we are sure of their market; deport them, and Germany, France, and Britain will share, or entirely absorb, the trade. Surely the writer in the "International" is a poor political economist, or imagines that all others are.

If it has been true that "*the Negro has been the cause of an enormous increase of crime*," it would not have been a difficult matter to collect and publish the statistics necessary to demonstrate the fact. Nothing of the kind is forthcoming, nor, indeed, can there be. Some minor crimes against the person may have increased, but there are others that have ceased altogether. There are no "niggers" now burnt for brave rebellion, or whipped to death for defending wives from brutal outrage, or for secreting daughters when demanded by a ravening and insatiable lust. But, perhaps, it is intended to hold the Negro responsible for Ku-klux outrages and all their associated crimes. If this is the meaning of what is above alleged, then we are forced to admit that he has been the cause of an "*enormous* increase." The lamb has riled the brook. The wolf chooses to drink below, that he may have a chance to devour.

We brand, as a base, a mean, and a gratuitous slander the assertion that "the Negroes have little regard for personal purity." Suppose that they had even less than they are alleged to have, does it become any Southern white man to wonder? For nearly two hundred years the superior race has been trying to eliminate and blanch all decency out of them. It would be no difficult matter to prove that where one child is born out of wedlock now, fifty were so born under the "higher civilization." It is almost

diabolical to charge this people, as they are, with a crime that should be nameless among Christian men. Whatever may be the depths of infamous and unnatural crime the white population of the South have fathomed, and they have become familiar with some utterly unknown elsewhere, into *that* loathsome depth we doubt if the Negro has even looked. To be sure the lips blanched as they uttered this infamy, for they muttered as they uttered it, "We have no means of verifying or testing this statement." Then why publish it to the world? "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour."

Nor have we any evidence to sustain the allegation that "*the enthusiasm for education has surprisingly decreased*" among this basely-libeled race. Such may be the case in States where every impediment is thrown in the way of a coloured man who ventures to aspire to knowledge. But the opposite is most strikingly true of Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and the other States where fair facilities are afforded him.

Stealing, we are afraid, is a common infirmity, an offence limited to no one race or nation. The Negro, certainly, claims no exemption. But, then, the English steal; pocket-picking is a British invention. Sheep-stealing is a kind of national pastime, supplying Saxon literature with many and very striking proverbs. The Chinese steal; Ah Sin both fills and empties his capacious sleeve by

"Ways that are dark, and tricks that are vain."

Even the obscure and seldom-seen Welshman is tainted with the gentle vice. What says the old saw?

"Taffy was a Welshman; Taffy was a thief."

Yes, like all the rest, "*The Negroes here, as in Africa, are adepts in stealing:*" Adepts; that is, they are skilled, well versed, in the art. No wonder, after the training they had under the benignant, patriarchal system of olden times. The Negro then had his own philosophy of stealing; his casuistry was ingenious, if not sublime: "If chicken eat corn, only turn massa corn into massa chicken; he no teaf. If hog root through potato rows, he no teaf; only turn massa potato into massa hog. If nigger eat corn, and chicken, and hog, he no teaf; all massa's yet." The idea that coloured servants are given to pilfering beyond all other help is a monstrous wrong to a defenceless race. The writer of this article, though compelled by removals to have five sets of house-servants in as many years, has not lost the value of a dime. He has compared his experience with that of many others, and the testimony is uniform. In fact, one of the great luxuries mitigating the ills of a Southern residence is the respectful, efficient, devoted, honest help. There are fewer burglaries in the Southern

States than elsewhere. Serious crimes against property are almost unknown; and when they are committed, it is generally by white men, or professional thieves from distant States. There are entire classes of crimes which, at the North, fill jails and penitentiaries to overflowing, of which we have never known a Negro to be convicted. If anywhere at the South "jails cannot hold the convicts," it is because they are now used for the punishment of offences that were in olden time expiated by brandings, and the discipline of stocks and whipping-posts.

If "labour has decreased fully one-half," or if "the older Negroes only perform about three quarters as much as formerly," how comes it to pass that products are not diminished in a like ratio?

It is notorious that all the real work of the South is done by coloured hands. Has the soil become more fertile, or have labour-saving machines been largely introduced? Neither! In the opinion of some, the Negro has always been an idler and a loafer. In the good old times we were advised that the stimulus of the lash was needed to enable him to hoe his row! As an answer to all the silly nonsense uttered, printed, and believed on this subject, we ask again: By whom is the labour of the Southern States performed? Certainly not by the whites; they are the capitalists, the traders, the teachers, the doctors, the lawyers, and the ministers. The only class that works—that works always and everywhere—is the Negro, assisted to a very limited extent, it may be, by the poorer whites. If there was any wide-spread shiftlessness, any epidemic of indolence, it would soon tell its own story in diminished products and lessened exports. It would proclaim in general poverty, if not in famine, squalor, and death.

We have now traversed the leading charges brought against the Negro. The minor or incidental allegations we must summarize and treat in a general way. We must not lose sight of one great fact vital to this controversy. It is not the Negro on whom the assault is really made, and on whom it is proposed we visit the ills of attempted expatriation. Men of pure Negro blood are extremely rare at the South. Even those who are regarded as such are, many of them, of mixed blood. In the veins of the blackest flows an ill-disguised rill of that well-defined current which gives life to Arab, Turk, and Jew. From the shores of the Mediterranean to about the latitude of 20 degrees N., the population of Africa consists largely of tribes not originally native to the soil.*

There are thousands of coloured persons scattered all over the once slaveholding States who not only bear the names but carry the features and animate the blood of the so-called patrician race.

* "Encyclopedia Britannica," vol. ii, p. 221.

The old Kaffir, Congo, Guinea blood has been mixed beyond all distinction and separation with that of every other nation that has had a foothold upon their shores. The people whom the baser sort of Southrons would consign to extermination, but whom the more highly educated piously say, expatriate, are not Negroes. They are hardly of African descent. It is the people of colour that are aimed at. This includes our fellow-citizen of every shade, from the voluptuous octoroon with red cheeks and straight hair, down through all gradations of yellow and brown to charcoal black. It is not the Negro, but the whole coloured population of the United States upon whom this assault is made. Of this portion of our great nation there is much to be said that should be gratifying to the Christian patriot. That the coloured people have their own class vices, and peculiar infirmities and follies, is admitted. But they part with them more readily than any other race. "To say that a Negro is incapable of improvement," says Speke, "is a mere absurdity." In religion they have grown up into an earnestness verging on the fanatical. Before their devotion and fervour the so-called piety of those about them falls into a formal sham.

It is not true that they always fail when aspiring to the higher steeps of intellectual achievement and learning. Their opportunities in this regard have hitherto been but limited. In almost every case where they have had a fair chance, they have acquitted themselves with credit, if not *eclat*. Captain Burton, in his "Wit and Wisdom from Western Africa," gives us over two thousand of the black man's proverbs. One of them is, "When a slave becomes free he drinks rain-water;" that is, he does not go a mile to fetch it from a river. Does that prove him unfit for freedom? Georgia doctors think it does. Slavery came well-nigh obliterating the Negro's native wit and genius. Thank God! the fire of genius is inextinguishable.

We have the testimony of Theodore Parker that when Anthony Burns was first taken to Ohio to be educated he was a dull clog of stupidity. But the change that came over him was the most wonderful thing the Oberlin teachers had ever seen. When it fairly dawned upon him that he could learn to read, his zeal to improve was unbounded. He was at his books the whole time, and his capacity for learning developed more and more. The whole manner of the man was altered, and the *expression of his countenance* changed so much that in less than a year nobody would have recognised him as the half-stultified wretch for whose re-enslavement the enlightened pity of Boston raised a chivalrous army. It is hardly fair to exclude a class from all the advantages of higher learning, and then charge them with incapacity to reap its fruits. In spite of all disabilities, some have attained no unenviable eminence. The very first clock, of which all parts were

made in America, was made by Benjamin Benneker, a Negro of unmixed blood, who lived on the banks of the Patapsco, and he was so much of an astronomer that he made corrections in the tables of Ferguson and Leadbetter. His first almanac was published in 1792.* Of the few who have been permitted to enter and continue in our higher seats of learning, there has not been one who has failed to plant the banner of his race's capacity as high as that carried by the more favoured castes. Richard T. Greener, now the Professor of Mental Science in the State University of South Carolina, stood in flattering proximity to his highest compeers when graduating at Harvard. Yale gave honours last year to a coloured graduate. In journalism, statesmanship, oratory, we have Douglas, Layston, Pennington,† Lynch, and Crummel ‡

As a race, the coloured people are naturally attractive orators. Without culture, their wit, pathos, and sublimity is not excelled by the more favoured races. We must instance Placido, poet and martyr, Doctors Pennington and Gannett, Charles T. Renaud, and Sojourner Truth. In music they have taken captive the world. To say nothing of such an extraordinary genius as Blind Tom, the Tennessee and Hampton singers have received the applause of cultivated crowds and royal courts. In courtesy, patience, fidelity, integrity, heroic self-sacrifice, they can take, without any questioning, the highest rank.

In this University already referred to, where, notwithstanding the "International's" affirmation that "no legislation can induce the whites to send their sons and daughters to schools where they must mingle in daily and familiar intercourse with Negroes," the students are nearly half and half, the coloured student does not fall below his more highly-favoured white associate in the higher departments of mathematics or languages. In fact, the first, probably, that will graduate with honours under the new *regime* is a Negro, "black as the ace of spades." These are the people we are asked to exterminate, or, at least, cast out.

To the Southern heart two great objects have become exceedingly dear. Springing out of the war, they are cherished and nursed into stronger life every day. To the propagandizing of one of these objects, pen and press and pulpit are committed with all the zeal of a controlling infatuation. The first is the payment, by the United States, for all slaves freed and all property lost in the great Rebellion, and, if practicable, the assumption of the Confederate bonds in the hands of *innocent holders*, who took them in good faith! § The second is the elimination of the Negro out of the

* "Atlantic Monthly," March, 1863. † D. D., from Heidelberg.

‡ M.A., Cambridge, England.

§ Mr. Bayard has already seriously proposed that the United States issue 500,000,000 dollars, bearing 4 per cent. interest, with twenty-five years to run, for this very purpose.

body politic, or his "respectful subordination." The meaning of the latter phrase is, his deprivation of all the rights he has acquired by the war, and his relegation to the condition of "hewer of wood and drawer of water" to the prouder race.

It needs no argument to convince the American people, or any people, that the latter object is conceived in meanness, and is impolitic, unpatriotic, and anti-Christian in the extreme. The past cannot be destroyed. Cicero attempted it when he carried away by stealth from the capitol the plates of brass on which was inscribed the law that proscribed him.

"A caste," says Napoleon, "not renewed by foreign elements, is condemned to disappear." As it is impossible to relegate the Negro to his former condition of servitude; as it is physically impossible to recolonize him in Africa, it is proposed by the politically purblind, in the enactment of oppressive and discriminating local laws, in withholding from him the common courtesies of travel and good neighbourhood, in excluding him from schools of medicine and law, in refusing to employ him even for menial duties, where a white man or a foreigner can be substituted in his stead—to crowd him, after the fashion of the Indian on his log, into the territory of some foreign power. Mexico, we are told, "will give him such unquestioning hospitalities as our own country and civilization cannot give." Why deport the negro only? Is it because he is the labourer *par excellence?* There is not an argument employed to justify and urge his expatriation that would not apply with accumulated force to every other labouring race. It is inclusive of Northern "mud-sills." Carried to their legitimate conclusions, the Georgia arguments would depopulate and lay waste the land. They would deprive us of the Irish, whom, we suppose would be crowded into Canada; the Germans would be pushed into the sea; and the Chinese, as there would be no place left for them, would, in the slang of the day, go "up in a balloon." We say of the arguments used by these political madmen, as the "Springfield Republican" has said of those used to justify the formation of White Leagues, "Any thing more ill-timed, more short-sighted, more criminally stupid, could not well be conceived. Language fails to do it justice. Setting morals entirely aside, it is the politics of *delirium tremens.*"

Why is Mexico now chosen as the national dumping-ground? A few years ago it was Liberia. Is it because it is supposed they would form a kind of ethnological high wall, against which the Southern tending wave of American civilization might beat in vain for ever? If the ex-slaveholder will so far modify this pet project of his as to accompany the receding wave, he may, perhaps, get the American people to consider it. Stripped of any such miti-

gating feature, the nation will have none of it. The American people halts the exodus. The United States needs, and can make good use of, every race that has taken refuge under its wide-spread and safely-sheltering wings. Its Christian philosophers have reached the conviction that on this great continent humanity's greatest problems are to be peacefully and successfully solved, and that, within the encircling arm of our great Government, is to be demonstrated the great physiological, social, and biblical truth, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." The country cannot part with one unit of its great aggregate. It needs the Frenchman, with his vivacity and educating polish; it needs the Italian, with his high art; the German, with his economics and jovialities; the Scandinavian, with his endurance; it needs the English and the Chinese; it has a place for the Russian, the Esquimaux, and the Turk. But it especially needs the Negro. He is exempt from many of the faults of the other races. He has virtues, capacities, and an aptness peculiarly his own; he can work in a climate fatal to all other races; he is willing and forward in doing what others decline or shrink from doing; he is an element essential to the nation's life. Without him the top-stone of our national greatness will not be lifted to its predestined lofty altitude for centuries yet to come. Expatriate the Negro, and our cotton-fields whiten no more; our turpentine orchards become silent as the grave; our rice-fields grow up into cane-brakes, sheltering the alligator and wild boar. Expel the Negro! The folly is beyond all characterisation. It is national *felo-de-se*. The cotton-mills, soon to be built by hundreds, and on the banks of every Southern river from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, will need him; manufacturers of hoes and implements of husbandry will want him; he will be needed as mason, cabinet-maker, and painter; he is needed now in the cotton-row and corn-field, in kitchen, restaurant, and hotel, in printing-office and school-room, in the pulpit and at the bar, in the dissecting room, in the chemical laboratory, and in the professor's chair.

It is violent, anti-Christian caste prejudice that seeks to depress and eliminate out of American society a long-suffering and a pre-eminently useful race. The incursion of the coloured man into unwonted scenes and circles is distasteful to pharisaism, and all reactionary elements passionately resist it. The protest as uttered by the "International" is a mistake; it is worse; it is an impertinence, and an insult to the whole American nation.

"The patent of nobility," said Mr. Wigfall, of Texas, some years ago, "is the colour of the skin." "I move," said Mr. Sumner, standing up in the Supreme Court of the United States, "that John R. Rock be admitted to practice as a member of this

Court." The nod of Chief-Justice Chase, as he answered the motion, destroyed that patent of nobility for ever. In admitting John R. Rock, a coloured man, to the high functions of an attorney in the Supreme Court of the United States, that high assize tore the seal from the patent and rent the parchment into shreds. Those who would, after all the chastisements of the past, and with all the plain and significant voices of the present and future sounding in their ears, fatuously endeavour to restore that patent, or worship its shreds as a fetish, would even endeavour to sweep back the sea with a broom.

ART. VII.—ATHENAGORAS'S APOLOGY FOR THE CHRISTIANS.

PART FIRST.

Addressed to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius-Antoninus, and Lucius Aurelius-Commodus, conquerors of the Armenians and the Sarmatians, and, what is still greater, Philosophers. Translated by JABEZ COLE.

[Eleven persecutions of the Christians—some fiercer, others fainter—marked the dying struggles of the many-headed monster, Paganism. No doubt, instinctively feeling his end approaching, he was all the more daring and desperate. He had reigned some eight centuries over the Roman people, and was he now to succumb to the religion of a crucified Jew? More than three centuries were filled with the sorrows of the great conflict. Had Christianity not been of God, it had assuredly come to nought. But the world in arms against it only

"Tilted with a straw against a giant
Cas'd in adamant."

The first great persecution took place in the year 64, in the tenth year of Nero's reign. Again, in 81, under Domitian, commenced another frightful onslaught, which continued till the Emperor's death in 96. The cousin and the niece of the imperial tyrant were among the sufferers, being accused of "Atheism and Jewish manners." Many were banished; among them St. John the Evangelist. Driven, about 95 A.D., to the Isle of Patmos, he there saw those visions of glory and mystery recorded in the book of Revelation. Under the gentle Nerva, the Christians lived in peace for the space of two years, the emperor dying in 98. Then came Trajan, a stern Spanish soldier, to wear the imperial purple. Under him the evil days returned. It was to Trajan that Pliny the younger wrote to know how he was to deal with the Christians, as he knew nothing against them except their meeting together on a certain day (Sunday) to sing a hymn in honour of Christ. In 117 began the reign of Adrian, who immediately succeeded Trajan; when soon the rage of the Pagan mobs burst out with increased fury. To Adrian were addressed two Apologies, or defences of the Christian faith. These had their influence, for the Emperor immediately thereafter published an edict forbidding Christians to be arrested on mere rumour, and ordering all false informers to be heavily punished. In A.D. 138 Antoninus Pius

succeeded to the throne. He reigned 23 years, a long time for a Roman Emperor. This was a period of comparative repose for the Christians, in which they could breathe again. But when Marcus Aurelius, the stoic philosopher, became Emperor, in 161, there was a change for the worse. Under him and his royal coadjutor active search was made for Christians. Torture began to be inflicted on them. It seemed, indeed, as if both the rulers and the people of pagan Rome were now beginning to realise, though as yet vaguely and dimly, the growth of that stone, cut out without hands, which was destined soon to shiver the idols in all their temples, and smite their iron empire into dust. The noblest of the victims under this reign was Bishop Polycarp, a man bending under the weight of nearly ninety years. Why so great and so good a man as Aurelius should have been so fierce a persecutor of such inoffensive and virtuous people as the Christians admittedly were is a problem not very easy to solve. There was much need that such a man as Athenagoras should now step forth and cast a true light on the sad position of affairs. Septimus Severus came to the crown in 193; and his reign was marked by a terrible persecution in Africa. By this Emperor a law was passed forbidding any one to become either a Jew or a Christian. After his death, in 211, till 235, when Maximim began to reign, there was a lull, and the Christians had comparative peace. This Maximim, the Thracian giant, had gained the purple by murder, and he set to work persecuting those Christian bishops who had been friends of his predecessor. In Pontus and Cappadocea, especially, there was a terrible time for the Christians. In other parts of the empire persecution lagged; but in 249, when Decius ascended the throne, it put the best foot foremost, and seemed as if it would destroy Christianity utterly. This, in fact, Decius resolved to do. He died in 251; and until the fourth year of Valerian, who assumed the purple in 253, the Christians again gained a short breathing time. Then an edict was issued—"Let bishops, presbyters, and deacons be put to the sword." Valerian, unlike some modern imperial diplomatists, had evidently no circumlocution about him, but went straight at his purpose. Would that his purpose had been of better character! Fiercest, widest, and last was the persecution that broke out under Diocletian and his colleague Maximim. This blood-thirsty Diocletian began to reign in 284. After a time, all over the empire, except in Gaul, Britain, and Spain, where Constantius ruled, persecution raged. At length, in 306, Constantine the Great stept into the seat of power, and then the Church was united to the State.—J. C.]

YOUR empire, illustrious princes, is not everywhere subjected to the same laws and the same usages; and every individual can submit himself to the institutions of his country, how ridiculous soever they may be, without having anything to fear from either judges or laws. The Trojans make a god of Hector, and adore Helen under the name of Adrasta. Sparta honours Agememnon as Jupiter, and Philone, daughter of Tyndarus; Tenedos invokes Tenes. The Athenians offer sacrifices to Neptune Erechtheus, and celebrate at the same time rites and mysteries in honour of Agraulos, and of Pendrosos, notwithstanding their being regarded as impious for opening the chest containing the treasure committed to their charge. In a word, every race and every nation offer the sacrifices and celebrate the mysteries they have the mind to. The Egyptians regard as objects of worship such creatures as cats, crocodiles, serpents, asps, and dogs. You and your laws say to all

that it is impious and criminal not to recognise some god, and that each ought to adore the god of his preference—that the fear of the Divinity averts men from evil practices. Why is our name, which hurts you not, though it irritates the multitudes who are indignant at hearing it even pronounced; why is our name, I say, held in horror? It is not a name, it is crime alone which is worthy of hatred and of punishment. All admire your considerateness, your magnanimity, your clemency, and your humaneness, which permit everyone to live according to his own laws: you treat all cities with the regard and the distinction which they merit; and the whole world — thanks to your wisdom—enjoys profound peace. As for us others, whom they call Christians, we are the only exception to your beneficent régime. You suffer, I say, innocent men, penetrated, as we will prove, with sentiments the most religious towards both God and the emperors, to be oppressed, despoiled, persecuted, and that solely on account of our name! We have therefore dared to exhibit our cause in the light of day. This discourse will show you to what extent all is disregarded in reference to us—laws, equity, reason. We beseech you to cast upon us a gracious regard, that the sword of calumny may be arrested, and made to cease from molesting us.

It is not so much that injustice despoils us of our goods, that ignominy rests upon our reputation, and that malignancy takes from us the most precious advantages: it is true that we despise all those things of the world which mortals seek after with so much avidity; we despise them—we who have learnt not only not to render evil for evil, not to call to justice the enemy who attacks and robs us, but to present the other cheek to those who give us a box on the ear, and to give up our cloak also to him who takes away our coat. But, after having spoiled us of our goods, they seek our lives also, accusing us of a multitude of crimes which it is impossible we should commit, and which, as our calumniators well know, might with more justice be charged upon themselves than upon us.

II.—At the same time, if our enemies can convict us of a single crime of what sort soever, we will ask for no mercy, but submit ourselves to the most cruel punishments—nay, even solicit them at their hands. But if the accusations against us bear only upon our name—what have these been unto this day other than vague reports circulating among the people? Up to this time no one has been able to substantiate the least crime against a single Christian, man or woman. In this case it is for you, noble princes, of whom the humanity is equal to the intelligence, to put us under the safeguard of the laws, in order that after the example of the cities and the peoples who everywhere bless you, we also might be able to render you thanks and congratulate ourselves on being no

longer exposed to the arrows of calumny. You are too just to suffer us alone to be condemned on account of our name, or to permit that it should prevail over our testimony before the tribunals, whilst other accused persons are only punished after their guilt has been proved. It is well known that your judges never try to ascertain whether or not a Christian is culpable in his conduct—they attach to his name the infamy of the crime laid to his charge. But nothing is more indifferent in itself than a name. An individual is not good or bad except by reason of his character and his actions; you know this better than anybody, you who are versed in philosophy and all kinds of learning. Also those who are called before your tribunals, under accusation even of the greatest offences, rest upon the hope that you will, above all, inquire into their life: that the mere name of persons will never shake you, because it is vain in itself, and that you will not be affected by the accusations if they are false; they know that an impartial Justice pronounces the decree which condemns or the decree which absolves.

This right, which is the right of all, we claim for ourselves also. We ask not to be hated and not to be punished on account of the name we bear: for in what is this name a crime? Let them judge us on a matter in itself: if it is falsely preferred, let them acquit us; if it is proved, let them condemn us; in a word, let judgment proceed not upon a name, but upon a crime. When they judge a philosopher innocent or guilty they do not judge him before examining into his conduct upon the art or of the science which he professes; they punish him if his offence is proven, without reflecting the least dishonour upon philosophy itself; for he is not criminal because he is not a true philosopher. Science is innocent of his crime and incapable of injury; but he is absolved if the accusation is calumnious: let them then leave us to enjoy this equality of right, let them examine our life, and let them cease to make to us a crime of the name we count it an honour to bear.

In commencing this apology for our doctrine I ought first to entreat your Majesties to listen to me with impartiality, not to suffer yourselves to be either led away or prepossessed by popular and absurd rumours, but to accord to the investigation of our cause that love of truth and of knowledge which you profess to entertain. In this way you will not have to reproach yourselves with any imprudence; and as for us, released henceforth from the crimes imputed to us by malignity, we shall cease at length to see ourselves pursued by the hatred of our species.

III.—People accuse us of three crimes; namely, of being Atheists, of feeding ourselves upon human flesh like Thyestes, and of indulging in incestuous intercourse after the example of Œdipus. If these monstrous charges are capable of proof, then spare neither

age nor sex. Punish us with all kinds of torment; exterminate us without pity, us, our wives and our children, if any one of us is found to live after the fashion of brute beasts. Why, even an animal itself never approaches one of its own sex; it unites itself according to the laws of nature; it is also grateful to those who have shown it kindness. What punishment would not the man deserve who should descend below the brute; what chastisement is there that would be equivalent to his crime? But if in our case are only to be found false accusations and baseless calumnies, which are a natural consequence of the rage of vice against virtue, since by a divine decree an eternal war is kindled between beings of a contrary nature; if you yourselves are witnesses of our innocence, you who persist in accusing us because of our name, it is your duty to assure yourselves of our manners, of our doctrine, of our obedience, and of our sentiments towards you, your family, and your empire, and to hold the balance even between our accusers and ourselves. No doubt the victory will fall to the lot of those who are always ready to give their life for the cause of virtue and the interests of truth.

IV.—In order to avoid the reproach of not having refuted all my adversaries, I will confront each of the offences one by one which are so persistently laid to our charge. And first of all, in regard to the crime of impiety—of which we are accused with so much injustice—I will admit that the Athenians had good reason to condemn Diagoras as an Atheist. Not content to divulge and proclaim to the populace the secrets of Orpheus, the sacrifices of Ceres, with those of Eleusis, and the mysteries of the Cabiri, he even mutilated the statue of Hercules to give himself means to cook his vegetables, and carried his audacity to the length of loudly asserting before all who would listen to him that there was no God. How can they call us Atheists, us who confess the existence of a God, who distinguish Him from matter, who put between the one and the other so great a difference? (For we say that God is uncreated and eternal, and that the soul only and the reason can apprehend Him, whilst we pronounce matter to be created and corruptible.) If we thought, as did Diagoras, on the Divinity, after the proofs we have under our eyes of the homage which He merits from His possession of so many and so just titles, witnesses as we are of the invariable order, the constant harmony, the majesty, the magnificence, and the beauty of the universe, without doubt they would have the right to accuse us of being Atheists and of punishing us with death. But since we acknowledge a God, one and increate, a God who has made all things by his Word, it is absurd to calumniate and persecute us as unbelieving and impious.

V.—You do not regard as Atheists the poets and the philosophers

who occupy their minds about God. Euripides doubted the existence of those gods which hold their titles from ignorance and vulgar prejudice when he said, "If Jupiter resides in the highest heaven, he ought not to load the just with misfortune." But speaking of the God whom reason discovers, he expresses himself thus:—"Behold," says he, "this sublime being who embraces the immensity of the heavens, and environs the earth with a humid girdle; you say that it is Jupiter, say rather that it is God." For he knew not the nature of the other gods to which the people were so fertile in giving names: as to your Jupiter, said he, "I know no more of him than his name—a vain sound." Nor knew he more of the whole tribe of deities, male or female. "What good is there," he demanded, "in a lot of names that stand for things which never had any existence; at least not beyond the imagination of their inventors? But elevating his thoughts to the invisible Being by the contemplation of his works, he realised forcibly the evidence of Him in the heavens above and in the earth beneath, and he concluded with logical certainty that That which has created, and which governs, all things by his Spirit is God. He demonstrated that this God must be one, and showed that his dwelling-place is not merely somewhere, but everywhere. In this view of the great subject he was in exact accord with Sophocles, who, reflecting upon the Divine Nature and the beauties which He has spread over all His works, cries out, "Yea, verily, there must be a God, one God, who is creator of the firmament and of the vast universe!"

VI.—Philolaus, on his part, assuring us that everything is shut up in the bosom of Deity, as in a prison, demonstrates both His immateriality and His unity. Listen to how Lysis and Opsimus define God. He is an incalculable number, says the one; while the other says that He is the overplus of the greatest number over the number which approaches it the nearest. (The meaning, I suppose, is that the original and self-existent One is the greatest number, greater than all the numbers or parts of nature, and consequently greater than the most ancient part of nature, say simple atomism, which lies the nearest to Him in the order of time.) If, then, the greatest number, as the Pythagoreans* say, is the tenth,

* Phythagoras taught that *Numbers* are the *principles of things*; or, more literally, that "Numbers are the cause of the material existence of Things." We have only a few mystical expressions, such as the one here given, handed down to us as the doctrines of a thinker, who created a considerable school, and whose influence on philosophy was undeniably immense. We have to interpret these expressions as we best can. The great questions are these two: Did Pythagoras regard Numbers as symbols, or as entities?"—See Lewes's *Biographical History of Philosophy.*

This is the Pythagoras who would not be called a *sophos* or *wise man*. but *philo-sophos*, or *lover of* wisdom. And all that can be known of the little of

since this number contains in itself all the relations of number and of harmony, and if at the same time the number nine approaches it the nearest, it follows that God is unity, that is, one; for this number ten surpasses exactly by a unit the number which is immediately inferior to it. I will also state the sentiments of Plato and of Aristotle. Yet, in recalling what they have said about the Divinity, my intention is not to develop the whole of their philosophy; for, as much as you surpass others in wisdom and in power, to the same extent you excel them by your works and your researches into all kinds of erudition. In all the departments of science you are so much at home that you know as much of any given branch of it as those who have made it their exclusive study. But as we cannot prove, without citing names, that we do not stand alone in recognising the unity of God, I will here lay before you some sentiments on the subject which coincide with our own. Plato says:—"It is difficult to arrive at a true knowledge of the Creator and Father of the Universe; and when one has done so it is almost impossible that one should dare to speak of Him publicly." This philosopher here alludes to the one God, eternal and uncreated; if he acknowledges any others, as the sun, the moon, and the stars, he considers them as no more than creatures or created beings. It is thus that he makes Zeus to speak: "I am the God of the gods I have created, and they could not be annihilated without my will; but anything whatsoever that has been called into existence may be again reduced to its original nonentity." If Plato, then, was not regarded as an atheist for believing in a God, one, uncreated, and the originator of all things, why should you condemn us as atheists, us who, following the example of that thinker, acknowledge and adore the God who has made all things by His Word, and who sustains and conserves all by His Spirit?

Aristotle also and his disciples, assert one only God, but they make of him a species of animal, composed of a body and a soul: his body, they say, consists of the whole planetary and stellar universe, and his soul is the reason which presides over his body, or universal materialism. This soul is im-

his system which has come down to us is, that Phenomena are not the all of existence; but that something underlies the Visible, which is greater and older than it. Call this something Number, or what you please—for mere names do not go for much,—it is *the* Reality, and in it we live, move, and have our being. In other words, this lover of wisdom, some five or six centuries before Christ, believed in an unseen universe, in which was to be sought the *raison d'etre* of the seen; a conception which even some *sophoi* of our nineteenth century are unable to evolve out of their logical, or any other, consciousness. They would rather be descended from a material protoplasm than from an Infinite Spirit; and are more pleased to trace back their genesis to creeping things and despicable apes than to the will and purpose of a Divine Father.—J. C.

mobile itself, though the principle of all movement. The Stoics, though they seem to multiply the Divinity, from the different names they give Him by reason of the changes incident to matter, in which, according to them the Spirit of God diffuses itself, yet in reality they admit the existence of but one God. Thus, according to them, if God is a subtile fire, diffused everywhere, in order to fecundate all, and containing the essence and the life of all beings which spring forth into existence by the decree of fate; in other words, if His Spirit pervades the entire universe, it follows that the Stoics, in strictness acknowledge but one only Deity, whom, when speaking of the element of fire, they call Jupiter; and Juno, when they speak of the air. In fact, this One Being takes divers names according as he penetrates different sorts of matter and influences the various departments of nature.

VI.—Thus it is seen that all the philosophers are compelled, as in spite of themselves, to affirm one only God when they go back to first principles and to the first beginning of things; but are they punished for entertaining so rational a conclusion? By no means. They are permitted to say, and to write, with impunity, whatever they choose on the subject. We also believe in one God, the author of the Universe; but the law makes this a crime in us, although we are able to establish the truth of this belief by irresistible testimony and infallible proof. The poets and philosophers have treated upon this important question, as well as upon so many others, and have handed down to us their conjectures. With some little light from on high, no doubt, they were yet, on the whole, without any guidance but their own in their important efforts to arrive at the truth. Thus, it is not by God's help, but by the help of themselves, that they have arrived at what they consider ought to be thought about the Divinity, and this is the reason why they are divided in so many different opinions, not only about God, but concerning matter, form, the world, and, in fact, everything else. As regards us Christians, we have for guarantees of our beliefs and our faith the prophets, who have taught us that which ought to be believed of God and His attributes, after having themselves been first taught it by the Holy Spirit. You who are so superior to others by virtue of your wisdom, and your piety towards the true God, will agree with us that it would be an outrage to reason to refuse believing in the Spirit of God speaking by the prophets, who were but docile instruments for adding knowledge to human opinions.

VIII.—Listen now to how we prove the existence of one supreme God, and you will see with us that the arguments are in accordance with true logic and with intuitional faith. Now, if there existed from the beginning two or many gods, they must unquestionably have either lived in the same place, or else separately.

But certainly they could not be together, for if they are two, they could not be alike or equals, because being uncreated they must, in the nature of things, be different in their modes of existence, since it is only among beings created and conformed to a model where some mutual resemblance may be found. There could be no such resemblance between uncreated beings; for, never having proceeded from any other, they were never formed in conformity with any model whatsoever. It will, perhaps, be said that these two gods or more were united together in such a manner as to form the parts of one and the same whole, after the analogy, for example, of the hand, the eye, the foot, and the other portions of the body, constituting but one individual animal. Or, if we were speaking of a man, say of Socrates, for instance, we might affirm him to be divisible, because of his being composed of many parts or distinct organs; but as for God—he is increated, impassable, and immutable; whence it follows that he is indiscerptible, and not subject to any division. Is it said that the gods live separately. But as *the* God and Creator of the Universe is at one and the same time in His works, round about them, and beyond them, where, I would ask, is there any place of habitation left for any other god* besides Him?

Yea, of a truth, this vast system of materialism, which is made up of so many worlds, must needs be filled with the presence of its Creator, seeing that otherwise the care of his providence could not extend to each and all of the individual portions. Where, then, shall be the place of any other god, or of many others? Assuredly such place is not *in* the world, since it is the habitation of another; neither *round about* nor *beyond* the world, for the Omnipresent One is there also. If, then, the one God is *everywhere*, it follows of necessity that the two, or the many gods, are *nowhere*. No, nowhere, except in the vain imaginations of men, in the crafty system of priestism, and in the wild vagaries of the poets, which have done more to obscure the idea of the Divine unity and turn the world into a pandemonium than any other cause whatever unless it be the evil tendencies and sensual passions of the human heart. And, your Gracious Majesties, who are accustomed to view things from the standpoint of philosophy and of fact, though not entirely superior to the influences of hereditary belief and popular faith, know right well that I herein speak the truth. And, as our Great Master has said, "ye can do nothing against the truth."

* This kind of argument would be an anachronism at this day, in which the doctrine of the Divine Unity is so universally established, at least, in Christendom; but in Athenagoras's day it had great force and significance. Then the battle was between Theism and Polytheism; now it is between Theism and Atheism. For what is Pantheism but Atheism under another name? Whatever denies a *personal* God, denies the only kind of God that is worthy of the name.—J. C.

IX.—This our belief respecting the Divinity would appear an altogether human doctrine if it was based on other grounds than the arguments I have just been presenting to your attention; but with us the reasoning is fortified by the authority of our divine oracles. You are too well informed not to be aware that we have had a great number of prophets—such as Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, who, carried away out of themselves, obeyed the movement of the Holy Spirit and repeated his inspirations, for he made use of them, as the musician does of a lyre, from which he draws forth what sounds he pleases. What say these inspired men? They say, "The Lord is our God; there is no other like unto him." Also, "I, the Lord, I am the first and the last, and besides me there is no God. Before me there was no God, and there shall be none after me. I am God, and there are no gods besides me." And, speaking of His greatness, he says, "The Heaven is my throne, and the earth my footstool. What house will ye build for me, and where is the place of my rest?" But I will leave it to yourselves to examine these sacred books, and to study the divine oracles which they contain, in order that you may be able to repel, as you ought to do, the calumnies which they so fiendishly and pertinaciously utter against us.

X.—I have sufficiently demonstrated that we are no Atheists, since we acknowledge one only God, who is increated, eternal, invisible, impassible, immense, omnipresent, and who can only be apprehended by the mind and reason; clothed with light and beauty, a spirit all-powerful, ineffable, who has created and ordained all things, and who conserves all by his Word, for we acknowledge also the Son of God. And let us not be ridiculed because we give to God a son, for that which we believe of God the Father, or of His son, bears no resemblance whatever to the fabulous inventions of the poets, who make their gods no better than men. The Son of God is the Word, the thought and the virtue of the Father; for all has been made by Him and through Him, since the Father and the Son are but one. So, as the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father, through the unifying power of the Spirit, it follows that the Son of God is the thought and the Word of God.*

If you will please to investigate, with the high intelligence which distinguishes you, and see what the Son of God is, you will find that he is the first production of the Father, but not after the manner in which he has produced the creatures; for, from all eternity God had in himself the Word, since his reason is from all eternity. The Son proceeded from the Father to be the agent in giving form and consistency to all material things, which before were mingled together, the more subtle with the proper in a

* Who will say, in the face of this, that the doctrine of Christ's Divinity was not held by the primitive Church?—J. C.

frightful chaos. The Holy Spirit, who teaches us this, has said, "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way, before His works of old. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or even the earth was." And this same Holy Spirit who acted upon the prophets tells us that he emanates from God and returns to Him as a ray returns to the sun. Who can help being astonished that our enemies should treat as Atheists us Christians who say that there is a God Father, a God Son, a God Holy Spirit, all united in power but distinct in order. Nor is it here that our theology stops, for we also believe in a multitude of angels, who are the ministers whom God, the Author and fashioner of all things, has appointed and distributed for to be present everywhere, and take care of the elements, of the heavens, and of the universe.

XI.—Do not be astonished, great princes, if I seek to explain clearly to you our doctrine; for I wish the truth to be well known to you, to the end that you may not be led away by the senseless prejudices of the vulgar. This is the reason why I apply myself to lay before you a most exact and faithful statement. To show you how far we are from being Atheists, I need only refer you to our moral precepts—precepts which have not come from mere man, but have been revealed and given by God himself. What, then, are these precepts with which we admonish and bring up our children? Here they are:—"But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you, that you may be the children of your Father who is in Heaven, for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." In pleading our cause before prince-philosophers, let it be permitted me to raise my voice and speak freely: Among all those great learned men, so able to destroy sophisms and explain paradoxes; among those grammarians who give the etymology of words, who teach the homonyms and the synonyms, the categories, and the axioms, what is the subject, and what the attribute, and who, with all this show of knowledge, promise happiness to those who will listen to them,—do you, I say, find many of them who lead a life so pure and so virtuous, that, far from hating their enemies and cursing those who first curse them (which would indeed show great moderation), they love them and bless them and pray for such as reveal and destroy their ambushes? On the contrary, are they not occupied day and night in searching into their art to find out the secret of most effectually harming them—in laying snares, and weaving plots, to effect their ruin? By this they clearly show that it is the art of saying well they profess, and not the art of doing well. They are rich in fine words, which are but air; while they are poor in right action, which is the principal thing. But look at the

Christians, among whom you will find nothing of all this. No doubt many of them are ignorant, mere artisans, and old women, who cannot, of course, demonstrate the truth of their doctrine by force of reasoning, but who will, nevertheless, prove to you their personal excellence by the purity and excellence of their lives. They do not burnish their words, but their works. They do not return blow for blow, nor enter into a lawsuit against those who despoil and maltreat them; but they give to those who ask them, and, loving their neighbour as themselves, do unto others as they would have others do unto them.

(*To be concluded in our next number.*)

Art. VIII.—THOMAS A KEMPIS.

ABOUT the middle of the fourteenth century Gerard, a man of great acquirements and pious life, founded a society called "The Brethren of the Common Life," having for its objects pious meditation, multiplication of copies of the Scripture and other religious books, establishment of schools for the people, and the pursuits of mechanic arts. Among the best known disciples of Gerard is he whose name heads this article. Thomas a Kempis, or Hamerkin, as the name is sometimes written, was born in the town of Kempin, near Cologne, about 1380. His father was an industrious mechanic; his mother, like the mothers of most great men, was noted for her virtuous and pious life. At thirteen Thomas was sent to school at Deventer, the most celebrated institution under the control of the "Brethren of the Common Life," where he became a pupil of the renowned John Bœhme, and afterwards was trained in the house of Florentins, a disciple of Gerard, whose house was the head-quarters of the "Brethren." Here he tells us "I daily watched and observed their holy conversation, and I had joy and comfort in beholding their good manners, and in the gracious words which were wont to proceed out of the mouth of these humble men." At twenty he was admitted to the Augustinian Convent of St. Agnes, near Zwoll, of which his brother was Prior, where, with his characteristic caution, he passed five years as a novitiate, assumed the monastic dress in the sixth, and only took the vow the following year, which he kept with inviolable fidelity, and was distinguished even then for "piety towards God, reverential obedience to his superiors, and charity towards his brethren."

At about thirty-three he was ordained, and such was the sincerity of his piety, the amiableness of his manners, and zeal, that twelve years later he was elected Sub-Prior, and afterwards Procurator of the Convent; but, to secure more time for meditation,

study and writing, he fell back into the former position, which he retained until his death, at the ripe age of ninety-one. "Thomas's outward appearance," says Ullmann, "corresponded to the gentleness of his inward nature; he was below the middle size, but well proportioned; the colour of his face was fresh, with a slight tinge of brown; his eyes were piercingly bright, and, in spite of incessant use, retained their acuteness of vision to extreme old age, so that he never used spectacles." He was cleanly, moderate, chaste, and happy; in his deportment towards others, modest, cheerful and charitable; and unwearied in public and private devotions; as a preacher, always ready, clear, sympathetic and edifying, so that many came from adjoining towns to St. Agnes to wait upon his ministry; while of his inner life it has been said, "Without any considerable disturbance, it flowed on like a limpid brook, reflecting on its calm surface the unclouded Heavens." In the vocation of the "Brethren" Kempis excelled as copyist; and in a library at Cologne is preserved a fine specimen of his work in a copy of the entire Bible. He was author of some biographies, and of several pious treatises, the very titles of which are deeply suggestive of and fragrant with Christian sentiments, as, "Soliloquies of the Soul;" "A Little Garden of Roses;" "A Vale of Lilies;" and "The Three Tabernacles;" but his most celebrated work is his "De Imitatione Christi," a production read and prized by Calvinists and Arminians, Protestants and Catholics, Churchmen and Dissenters—at once the admiration of the scholar and the delight of the pietist. So great is the fame of this little work that its authorship has been disputed by France, Italy, and Germany—while the honour has been contested by various ecclesiastical orders; but the testimony of contemporary writers, and of some ancient copies of the books written in his hand or ascribed to him, and the style, all place it beyond reasonable doubt that Thomas a Kempis was author of this admirable Christian treatise. The "Imitation" has been translated into nearly all the European languages, and into Greek, Hebrew, and Chinese, while as many as five hundred distinct editions are found in one collection at Cologne. Mr. Wesley published a translation, entitled "The Christian Pattern," and the work was among the earliest issues of the Methodist publishing house. The "Imitation" is not large, and consists mainly of religious maxims and proverbs, and pious advices and reflections, drawn from the great stream of traditional experience, from the Bible, or the depths of his own religious consciousness. Its unifying idea is fellowship with God; and the dictum of his philosophy, "Part with all and find all." This wonderful little book seems to fairly exhaust the phases of Christian experience and search out the secret recesses of the soul; man's unworthiness and inability are depicted in con-

nection with deepest yearnings after Christ and longings for union with God by love; "here," says Milman, "are gathered and concentrated all that is elevating, passionate, profoundly pious in all the older mystics; no book, after the Holy Scriptures, has been so often reprinted." As might be expected, the work is not free from monachism, and nowhere do we find direct recognition of the great doctrine of justification by faith, yet everywhere do we meet with the thought that the heart is greater than the form, the spirit above the letter; everywhere are we urged to self denial, even at times to ascetic excess, yet nowhere are we made to feel that salvation comes otherwise than by grace; never does he impugn ecclesiastical dogma, pope, or prelate, yet ever does he proclaim and urge the freedom of the soul in God. This is a prime thought, and this perfect soul-freedom is to come of perfect submission to God. Thomas a Kempis has been justly placed among the reformers who preceded the Reformation, and who, under God, were John the Baptists of that better dispensation; such was Wycliffe in England, Huss in Bohemia, Savonarola in Italy, Wessal in Germany; and such was the "Little Hammer" in the convent of St. Agnes, dealing his blows upon the huge rock of the papacy that afterwards felt the ponderous sledge of Luther; for he, too, believed in the individual freedom of the soul, the study of the Bible, and the education of the masses. And the pious, holy spirit of the monk of St. Agnes lived in the student of Oxford, and worked in that other great Reformation of vital piety and Scripture holiness, for Kempis was one of the few men and the "Imitation" one of the few books that under God moulded the religious character of John Wesley. In his journal Mr. Wesley writes, "When I was about twenty-two my father pressed me to enter holy orders; at the same time the providence of God directing me to Kempis' 'Christian Pattern,' I began to see that true religion is seated in the heart, and that God's law extends to all our thoughts as well as words and actions; I was, however, very angry at Kempis for being too strict, yet I had frequently such sensible comfort in reading him as I was an utter stranger to before; and meeting likewise with a religious friend, whom I had never met till now, I began to alter the whole form of my conversation, and to set out in earnest upon a new life; I began to aim at and to pray for inward holiness." Again he writes, "In 1725 I met with Bishop Taylor's 'Rules of Holy Living and Dying;' I was struck particularly with the chapter upon Intention, and felt a fixed intention to give up myself to God. In this I was much confirmed soon after by the 'Christian Pattern,' and longed to give God all my heart; this is just what I mean by Perfection now. I sought after it from that hour."

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Various Views of the Higher Christian Life: Practical Discourses by WILLIAM DENT, Primitive Methodist Minister, with an Introduction by Rev. W. ANTLIFF, D.D. London: Bemrose & Sons, 10, Paternoster-buildings; and J. Dickenson, Sutton street, Commercial-road, E.

FEW men have better right or are better qualified to speak on the question of the Higher Christian Life than the author of this modest volume. From the beginning of his public ministry, more than forty years ago, he has taken a lively interest in it and studied it with a thoroughness such as he has perhaps given to no other subject. While the writings of Wesley, Fletcher, and other eniment Methodist divines have contributed largely to shape and mature his views, he has also availed himself of the aids supplied by the most noteworthy theological works of Calvinistic authorship of bygone and of recent times. The Bible, however, has been his chief text-book and guide, and we have reason to believe he has brought to the study of it a free heart and an unfettered judgment. With unswerving loyalty to the supremacy of its claims, he has made it the arbiter of human teaching, adopting what it approves, rejecting what it condemns. His views on the subject of the Higher Christian Life are preeminently Scriptural both in substance and expression. Of the numerous teachers of this doctrine there is perhaps scarcely anyone who could more fully and satisfactorily fortify his views with Scriptural authority. The volume now before us, which we believe is the only independent work of importance that has come from Mr. Dent's pen, may be regarded as the ripe fruit of his life-study. He has indeed been a frequent contributor to our Connexional periodicals: his valuable papers have often enriched the pages of the *Magazine* and *Ambassador;* and, if we are not mistaken, he has more than once published a pregnant tract on some subject of pressing interest. But the present volume is the only serious attempt he has made at independent authorship. And it may be taken as showing the intellectual form and pressure of the author, and as guaging his resources and capabilities as a public teacher. We venture to say that within its modest limits he has compressed the pith and marrow, the soul and substance, of all his previous teaching, whether by tongue or pen. It must not, however, be judged that this is a mere republication of what he has elsewhere given to the public. To all intents and purposes it is a new and original work. It consists of twenty-two discourses on the following topics:—Life, and the more Abundant Life; Christian Perfection, its Nature and Reasonableness; Perfection, the Way to its Attainment; An Exhortation to Holiness; Entire Sanctification; Religious Stability; Perfect Love (three Discourses); The Assurance of Faith; The Full Assurance

of Hope; Perfect Peace, How it is Manifested; The Nature and Influence of Holy Joy; The Duty and Conditions of Holy Joy; Scriptural Holiness Vindicated; Christian Morality; Christian Charity; Humility; The Conditions of Successful Prayer; Practical Christianity; A Noble Example; The Faith of God, or Faith in the Power of God; The Prayer of Faith. From this list of topics it will be seen that the Higher Christian Life is here treated in no narrow or one-sided manner. We notice with satisfaction the prominence and emphasis given to the practical aspects of this life. It is not viewed as a sentiment or emotion, consisting and finding consummation in raptures and ecstacies, but as a principle of love, rooted in right apprehensions of the truth, and bringing the entire economy of the inner man and of the outward conduct into harmony with the law of righteousness. These views are developed by Mr. Dent with a clearness of statement and fulness of Scriptural proof which leave nothing to be desired. This is really a valuable work, containing sufficient of the solid ore of truth to be beaten out into hundreds of sermons. We can most cordially recommend it. It is immeasurably superior to many of the sensational works on the same subject which have lately appeared, and which, we fear, have exerted anything but a healthy influence upon the Churches. We ought perhaps to add that Dr. W. Antliff supplies a brief but appropriate introduction. We trust the esteemed author will be encouraged by finding that his work meets with a ready sale. There is just the fear of its being crowded-out, and its value underrated by a glutted market. For the good of the Church he has incurred serious pecuniary responsibility by its publication, and it would be a grief to us, and to many others, were he to suffer loss of money on this account—loss which we are sure he could ill bear. This may be easily averted by his brother ministers,—for whom the work is particularly designed—taking an interest in its circulation, and especially if each of them order a copy for himself.

Sermons by the late Alexander Mac Ewen, M.A., D.D., minister of Claremont Church, Glasgow. Edited by his Son. With a memoir. Glasgow: James Maclehose, Vincent-street.

By the personal friends of the late Dr. MacEwen, and by those who formed his church and congregation, this volume will be specially prized and enjoyed. The narrative of his life, the portraiture of his character, and the selections of his sermons here given will serve as some consolation for their great loss in the premature death of so good a man and so useful a minister. But the book deserves a much wider sphere than the one wherein Dr. MacEwen's life-energies were spent. Though not endowed with extraordinary genius, or taking any very prominent part in the ecclesiastical movements of his day, Dr. MacEwen was a man of cultivated mind, of scholarly and literary acquirements, deeply pious, scrupulously conscientious, of unselfish aims, labouring for God's honour and man's good with a singleness and earnestness of purpose which nothing could relax. Taking him all in all, he is fit to be spoken of as one of the best ministers a church can be blest with, and one of the best models a young minister can have set before him. In sketching his life and character, his son has had a delicate and difficult work to do, but he has done it with remarkable judgment

and good taste. Not a word is set down which even the most fastidious reader can reasonably object to. The twenty-three sermons here given as specimens of Dr. MacEwen's ordinary pulpit service were not written or prepared for publication by the author, and consequently may lack the fulness and finish they might otherwise have had. Nevertheless, they are very good indeed, exhibiting gospel truth in its practical aspects; calm, reflective, argumentative, and yet earnest and pathetic; appealing principally to the judgment and conscience, but adapted also to move the affections. Happy the people who are favoured with such a ministry of truth as this.

The Vision of God, and other Sermons. Preached on special occasions. By HENRY ALLON, D.D., minister of Union Chapel, Islington. London: Hodder and Stoughton, Paternoster-row.

THIS volume of sermons is dedicated by Dr. Allon to the church and congregation worshipping in Union Chapel, Islington, "in devout and grateful acknowledgment of mutual esteem and affection continued through thirty-three years of pastoral relationship." But for what is implied in this dedication there is nothing in the book to indicate to what particular section of the Church of Christ the preacher belongs. Its teaching is eminently catholic and apostolic, making us forgetful of such small things as sects and creeds, reducing to their essential littleness the ever-changing phenomena of ecclesiastical life, and bringing us face to face with "the things which cannot be moved," the awfully beautiful realities of the spiritual world. Nothing strikes us so forcibly in Dr. Allon's teaching as its adaptation to the exigiences of religious life in this the nineteenth century. With intuitive quickness he divines the doubts, the aspirations, the struggles, the weaknesses and temptations, the sins and sorrows connected with modern religious life, and he speaks in words fraught with spiritual quickening, refreshment, guidance and solace to all who are struggling with its burden and mystery. Only the first sermon is said to be the vision of God, but every one of the series is properly speaking such a vision, enabling us to see some aspect of the divine character in a clearer and more attractive light than we have been wont. The divinely-human ideal of life as seen in our Lord Jesus Christ is kept prominently before us as at once the highest revelation of God and the model upon which we have to form our character, and we are encouraged to hope and believe that, notwithstanding the evil forces fighting against us, we may by patient and persistent endeavour overcome the corruptions and meannesses of our nature, and become conformed to His likeness. This is one of the few sermon-books we would not willingly let die. We think it worthy to keep company with the volumes of Robertson and Ker and Mozley, and we heartily commend it to all thoughtful men who are honestly trying to live the life of God upon earth.

A Commentary on the Original Text of the Acts of the Apostles. By HORATIO B. HACKETT, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co.

THIS is a re-written and enlarged edition of a work originally published about nineteen years ago, and which speedily gained, and has since main-

tained, a high place among exegetical commentaries on the Acts. The purpose and plan of the author remain the same in this re-issue. "It has been the writer's endeavour to present to the reader in this volume the results of the present state of biblical study, as applied to the illustration of the Acts of the Apostles." Exegesis based on a careful examination and elucidation of the Greek text is not too plentiful in our language, and for a considerable portion of what we have we are indebted to transatlantic divines. A few of our English scholars, foremost among whom stand Bishop Ellicott and Professor Lightfoot, have devoted their ability and learning to this line of labour; but as yet this country has scarcely taken the position it ought in the work of Scripture exegesis. A number of valuable translations of German works have been placed within the reach of English readers, several of them relating to this portion of the New Testament, amongst which we may name Baumgarten's, Lange's, Neander's, and Meyer's; but whatever value may attach to the ripe fruit of scholarly study supplied from foreign sources, we are glad to note any sign of increasing interest in this field of toil on the part of scholars who speak our own tongue, and with whom we have not to form acquaintance through the medium of a translation. The importance of Biblical exegesis cannot easily be over-estimated. It lies at the root of a sound theology. Systematised divinity, if it be worth anything at all, contains the pith and essence of Bible teaching. It can appeal to the record for the verification of its formulated dogmas; and these formulated dogmas, to carry assent and command belief, must furnish an enlightened, sufficient, and consistent exposition of the record. An able theologian, if not himself a first-class exegete, must, as a matter of necessity, be conversant with the labours of the masters of that science. The want of sound exegesis means in every case the presence of crude and illogical theology.

This work of Dr. Hackett's may be safely accepted as a reliable guide. As we have intimated, it was first published some nineteen years ago, and since then the author has lost no opportunity of reviewing, criticising, and correcting its contents by the aid of further research and a wider knowledge of the many causes that affect Biblical criticism. The Acts has been to him a text-book for the instruction in Biblical literature of the classes in the Institute where he holds his professorship. He has also visited the lands in which the Saviour and the Apostles lived, travelled, and laboured, and where the doctrine of the cross challenged its earliest conflicts and won its earliest victories. This latter circumstance Dr. Hackett says "has made it tenfold more a labour of love to trace again the footsteps of Paul and his associates," and he adds that it ought to contribute "something to the interpreter's power to unfold the history of their sufferings and their triumphs." We think so too, and to this cause we attribute the freshness and vividness of the geographical description contained in the volume, an instance of which may be found at page 121, in connection with the narrative of Philip and the Eunuch.

We perhaps cannot do better than allow Dr. Hackett to state in his own words the purpose he contemplated, and which in our judgment he has satisfactorily accomplished.

"It is the object of these notes to assist the reader in forming his own independent view of the meaning of the sacred writer in this particular portion of the New Testament, and at the same time furnish himself to some extent with those principles and materials of criticism which are common to all parts of the Bible. If the plan of the work, and the mode in which it is executed, are such as to impart a just idea of the process of Biblical interpretation, and to promote a habit of careful study and of self-reliance on the part of those who may use the book, it will be a result much more important than that all the opinions advanced in it should be approved; it is a result beyond any other which the writer has been anxious to accomplish. The grammatical references and explanations will enable the student to judge of the consistency of the interpretations given with the laws of the Greek language. The authorities cited will show the state of critical opinion on all passages that are supposed to be uncertain or obscure. The geographical, archæological, and other information, collected from many different sources, will unfold the relations of the book to the contemporary history of the age in which it was written, and serve to present to the mind a more vivid conception of the reality of the scenes and the events which the narrative describes."

In the chronological arrangement of contents we think the conversion of Paul is fixed at too early a date. Dr. Hackett assigns this event to the year 36 A.D. We think this too early by at least two years. One reason we have for thinking this is the length of time Dr. Hackett's date allows between the conversion of the apostle and the death of Herod Agrippa in A.D. 44, or 45, at which time Paul was in Jerusalem with Barnabas, as joint bearer of the charity of the Antiochian Christians to the believers in Judea. We venture to think that not more than six years can be fairly placed between these events; Dr. Hackett's scheme gives two years more. Verse 37 in chapter viii. is generally regarded as spurious. The verse is wanting in the best authorities; yet the interpolation, if it be such, is as old as the time of Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, and this Father died about the close of the second century. The evidence for and against this verse Dr. Hackett states briefly, yet fully, so as to enable the reader to reach a comparatively safe and sound conclusion. In the matter of various readings, Dr. Hackett is a judicious and trustworthy guide, as may be seen by reference to his note in verse 28, chapter xx. Here there is a dogmatically very important difference in the reading—"the Church of the Lord," and "the Church of God." The received English version has the latter reading; but the former has the decided support of external authorities, and is generally considered to be the original reading. Here again the arguments on both sides are stated with great fairness and fulness, so that any person of ordinary intelligence will find no difficulty in deciding between them.

We commend this volume to all our readers; it a judicious, devout, and painstaking attempt to reveal the mind of the Spirit in one of the most interesting portions of Holy Scripture.

THE

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR.

ART I.—GEORGE SAND.

IT was a rainy morning in mid-June. The clouds poured out unceasing showers, and the wind, blowing in fitful gusts, swept the falling drops in swaying sheets over the bending grass, or shook them fiercely down if they lodged on the slender tips of the spreading pine. These pines stood in the garden of an old chateau near La Chatre, in Berri. They stretched their green arms over a dividing wall, and scattered the wind-shaken drops into an open grave in the little cemetery on the other side. Towards this spot, notwithstanding the rain, trudged aged men, women, and even little children, the peasantry of the surrounding country. Near this open grave they lingered in whispering groups. They waited with uncovered head and reverent eyes the slow coming, from the door of the chateau, across the garden and park, of those who bore to her last resting-place one known to them as an unfailing benefactor and friend; one known to the world as Baroness Dudevant, and to fame as the author, Madame George Sand.

But for the presence of the Prince Napoleon and M. Alex. Dumas among the pall-bearers; but for a letter of Victor Hugo read above her grave, it might easily have seemed the simple funeral of some aged house-mother, surrounded by broken-hearted children and sobbing servants, and wept over by the grateful poor.

The woman and the artist—sometime lost to each other in the dust-stained walk of her life—*met at the end*, and God's pitiful rain, that falls "on the just and unjust," touched both in one as they laid her under the pines. One dead hand, ever swift to comfort the poor or caress a child, clasped a picture of her little granddaughters, Gabrielle and Lucille, whose childhood had been the crown of her old age. The other, that so often, by a stroke of the pen, had quickened or quieted the fevered pulses of her beloved France, grasped a shining bough of laurel.

On one side Alex. Dumas waited with the lecture of Victor Hugo to pay fame's tribute to the child of genius; on the other, the aged Cure of the little Church at Nohant (where "all the people loved her," where the picture of patron saint to which they

raised their reverent eyes above the altar, was her gift) waited to say his simple mass for her soul and leave his benediction above her grave. The world, and the fame to win which she for many years abandoned home and faith, found at her grave the home-love re-enthroned, and religion ready with its long-neglected blessing. The Church, on the other hand, was hardly willing to refuse to one the world called great its last offices, and chose to forget the long rebellion and neglect, and claimed her dead, though it could not hold her living. When her daughter begged Christian burial from Monsignore de la Tour d'Auvergne, Prince Archbishop of Bourges, he is said to have granted it on the ground that she "had been baptised into the Church, had never openly refused its sacraments," and was therefore still its child. That the priestly benediction was sought at all, was due to the daughter, the wife of Clesinger the sculptor, the Solange of her mother's early married life. The son, Maurice, who, may be, knew his mother better, and loved her no less, is said to have refused her old friend the Cure an opportunity to offer her the consolations of the Church in her last illness, lest in her weakness and suffering she should leave some avowal of her soul's need, in dying, of the help she had renounced in life. If the rumour is true, the act was a confession of his own comprehension of the great needs of a great nature, on which we do not require to comment. Doubtless, in that hour of heart-break above her grave the words of the simple old man who wept with him over his *mother* fell even more gratefully than the praise of the laudatory letter that mourned the loss of France and the world.

Yet Hugo's letter seemed to leave nothing unsaid. He called her "the one great woman in this century—whose mission was at the close of the French Revolution to begin a revolution of humanity." "The world needed a woman," he said, "who could possess all gifts, and yet keep her womanly nature; who could be at once strong and gentle." "George Sand was that woman." "She had done honour to France when many disgraced her." "She was one of the glories of her age and country, and her life had been a public benefaction." "She had a great heart like Barbès, a great mind like Balzac, and a great soul like Lamartine; and posterity would count as glories much the present condemned as sins."

While we may be unprepared to accept the estimate of Victor Hugo for ourselves, or even to admit that he only interprets the best judgment of France, we might, from her life, her character, and her books, attain a reasonably just appreciation of her true niche in the temple of fame, and her true claim to be termed a benefactor of her kind. The great obstacle to such intelligent perception is the irreconcilable difference between French standards of life, modes of thought, and currents of feeling, and our own.

We can not see her with French eyes. The general English and American mind thinks of her as a woman whose books had better never been written, whose life perhaps had better never been lived. The wife of Carlyle is said to have expressed a wish that "Frederick the Great had died when he was a baby." Many very excellent people feel that if George Sand had died in infancy the world would have been better to-day. We withhold, and very justly, her writings from our daughters, condemning indiscriminately what we cannot or do not take time to examine; the trail of the serpent on one book makes us naturally fear to see its head springing up in fairest places in the others. We hesitate to discuss her character in our salons. Over her life lies the shadows of unmentioned error, never moving, any more than the gloom of the pine shadows will lift from her grave. Through these thick boughs rays of sunshine will steal, and make the sod smile by-and-bye with blossoms; through that deeper gloom we hardly dare drop the light of what good we know, lest we seem to be trying to gild the evil.

Yet, of her more than threescore years and ten nearly fifty were years of labour—years through whose lessons to the busy brain and heart of the world runs a solemn minor chord of warning. Hugo speaks of her as "a light in eclipse," as a "torch darkened but not quenched," sure to glow on and on in future ideas that shall lighten humanity. Between this and the thought of her life as "a wandering star," for which "is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever," there is a less exalted and a less degrading theory justly founded on the "works that follow her."

It would be well, if possible, in contemplating this subject, to separate the woman from the artist. This is a difficult thing to do, because her books are to a greater than ordinary degree instinct with the writer's individual spirit and life. To such an extent is this true, that readers have felt there must be correspondence in outward circumstances whenever they saw her characters led along ways she knew by experience, as well as by imagination. For example, "Indiana," her first work of any importance, has been thought to be autobiographical, when it had no correspondence in plot, incident, or event, with her own history. M. Eugene Jacquot, in his series called "Les Contemporaines," published twenty years ago, stated that the heroine and the author of "Indiana" are identical. She contradicted the statement in her own "Histoire de ma Vie," and obliged Jacquot, otherwise De Mirecourt, to published a letter of correction in his own succeeding biography of Lemennais; yet the denial had less weight than the assertion, which has continued to influence the world's judgment of her career.

Writer and heroine were alike in that they both were sufferers

from an unhappy marriage, and the sentiment of the book is peculiarly her own. The fire of revolt against a social system she defied, blazing on every page, was lighted from the fire in her own heart. That her own history had passages wicked beyond comment or excuse cannot be questioned; but it is not true that she drank deep of every poisoned cup over which her characters lingered, or waded through every slough where she led them in the logical unfolding of the results of the evil she depicted. She had the unflinching eye that could look at sin unabashed, the unsparing hand that swept aside its disguises, and the power of portrayal that marked her a great artist, while the terrible realism made one revolt at the terrors she revealed. She never hid the bitter end of wrong-doing. She let the sinner sin, but she showed him writhing under the penalty, whether it were a physical anguish or the severer scourging of his own scorn.

If we throw aside the statements of De Mirecourt, who is so unreliable as to minor facts in her biography that we may safely doubt when his statements involve character, her life furnishes no evidence of immorality till a much later period than 1831, the time of the publication of "Indiana," unless, indeed, we so term the fact of her leaving home at Nohant to pursue the career of an artist in Paris. To this step she asked and obtained the consent of her husband, who granted her a small support, and the opportunity to be much with her two children—the Maurice and Solange who were beside her in her dying hour. M. Dudevant visited her frequently in Paris, encouraged her in her effort to support herself as a painter, introduced her to Jules Sandeau, for whom his own frienship was kept up so long after his final separation from his wife. This husband is described, by those who knew him best, as no domestic monster, but an amiable man of excellent sense and many fine qualities. Doubtless he saw the fitness of Madame Dudevant for the career she had chosen, and their ten years of married life must have convinced him of the impossibility of happiness for either of them in the continuance of a relation so repugnant to her views. Still he remained her friend, showing sometimes sincere and generous interest in her welfare. She often stayed months at a time in Nohant pursuing the work she had chosen and enjoying the society of her children.

Four or five years passed—making nearly fourteen years since their unhappy union—before he obtained the legal separation. His interest in one to whom his life had been so closely bound was not even then destroyed; but they met at intervals during the next twenty years. He was present at Nohant at his daughter's marriage, in 1855, and both mother and daughter are said to have been by his bedside when, some two years after, he died. One would prefer to pass in silence over the period immediately

preceding and following this separation. In "Elle et Lui," and in Paul de Musset's "Lui et Elle," books of dazzling magnificence of style, is told all that needs be known of an experience that delighted the woman's enemies and pained her friends. "Le Secretaire Intime," published in the *Rèvue des Deux Mondes*, throws additional light on the friendship with Alfred de Musset, who travelled with her in Italy in the capacity of a private secretary.

Genius in all time has seemed to assume the right to be a "law unto itself," and we have in this case another instance of the difficulty of holding exceptionally gifted natures to the conventionalities that are the welcome safeguard to less daring souls.

George Sand built upon the wreck of her own domestic peace a theory and philosophy of morals utterly repudiating outward restraints, claiming that to the evil disposed they were useless, and to souls possessing principles of truth and virtue they were unnecessary. The reality of her social scepticism, the intensity of her defiance against established wrong, and her bitter scorn for souls too blinded to see what to her was truth, or too weak to resist what to her was tyranny, swept to her over to a point where she took for herself absolute freedom from all save the inward law, whose sway she acknowledged. That this inward law proved a blind guide, whose hand she was after a while glad to drop—a broken reed, which failed her whenever she tried to lean upon it —was a truth her life attested, but which her pen was slow to admit.

It was in such a chaos of passionate feeling she began her work, and we have, as its natural expression, books like "Indiana," "Valentine," and "Lelia." Through them all runs the same current of fiery and indignant self-assertion. They are books not to be read by all superficial readers, and to be forgotten by any one who feels in them the struggle of souls in the dark with an almost hopeless wrong, from which the only offered escape is into error still deeper. Yet, to one who sees into their depths, they are as hard to forget as the midnight cry of some human soul going down to death freighted with a life's-time pain and shame.

After entering upon her career in Paris, her first work was written with M. Jules Sandeau for a collaborator, and entitled "Rose et Blanche." Notwithstanding the statement of the biographer, mentioned before, we have every reason to believe their association was one of congenial pursuits and common interest only. M. Dudevant had brought about their first meeting. The *nom de plume* she chose was thought to be an abbreviation of "Sandeau," but the name Sand was adopted at the suggestion of M. Delatouche, of *La Figaro*, the dramatic writer, and warm friend of the young struggler from the first. He

encouraged her when other authors told her a woman should not write. He had been reading the life of Kotzebue, and chose for Madame Dudevant the name of "Karl Sand," the assassin of the politician and play-writer. Sand pleased her, but she did not like to appear before the public in the borrowed name of a murderer; so she prefixed George, from George Dandin, one of her favourite characters in "Molière." She chose a *nom de plume* all the more readily because her husband's family, hearing that she was about to enter on an author's career, were horrified, and implored M. Dudevant to prevent such an outrage to the family name. Strange as it may seem, she doubted her own power, and her fear that her work might not prove successful made an added reason for choosing a name that should cover her possible failure.

The project to make "Indiana," like the former book, a joint production was abandoned, and it grew under Madame Dudevant's own hands, and was issued in 1831, when the author was in her twenty-eighth year. It does not reveal the merit of later works, but its defiant scorn of conventionalities, the passionate protest of her whole being against existing systems, startled the world into admiration of her courage and force before it had time to reject the false philosophy, or to decry the lack of all moral sensitiveness. Close upon it followed "Valentine," "Andre," "Lelia," and others in the same vein, and dealing, only less delicately, with the same problems. They combine such beauty of style, such marvellous descriptive skill, such comprehension of all the subtlest phases of character, as hurried the young writer rapidly forward on the road to a celebrity that up to this time had little in it to gratify a lofty intellect or a pure heart.

One sad feature of her earlier works is the hopelessness of the misery she pictures. The social systems she deprecates and the individual character she paints are alike shrouded in a gloom made blacker by reckless, unreasoning rejection of all previous lights, however pure. Her characters interest us, her theories excite attention; but we turn from both as from some dead thing that ought to be buried out of sight, since there seems no way of revivifying. A little further on she has, or fancies she has, lighted a torch that will guide the world out of its misery into happiness, justice and truth. This ray of love and hope reflected from her own heart shines now through her books and inspires them with new power. Alas that the light was only a false beacon, misleading peace and purity till they made almost hopeless wreck upon the rock of feedom! Such a soul ought to have followed no light, however alluring, that shone lower than the stars. It was during this frenzied emptying of vials of wrath and scorn on all the world's old ways that she indulged in such erratic inconsistencies as hopelessly marred her good name. It seemed as if she could not stop

short of self-destruction in her effort to prove that suicide to reputation was not necessarily death to character. To prove that woman might know man's freedom of action, she gathered stains for her womanhood that her more than manly courage could not obliterate, and proved in sad experience how much stronger are the forces of evil than we dream when we defy them. For a short time she frequented the theaters, the *cafés*, the public gardens, the haunts of men who knew neither innocence or shame. Sometimes in student's dress she shared the out-door life and frolics of the student. That she learned many useful facts is doubtless true. She could never have written of the people and for the people as she did but that she knew them well; and we have to thank these wild excursions into the reality of common life for many a character the world would not otherwise have known. It may be, ignorance of it would have harmed it less than the knowledge. This erratic course, taken from no innate love of vice, but to vindicate her freedom, ended in a slavery whose chain she strove to break through many later years—years of continual peace-offering to the outraged moral sentiment of her time. All these things—the masculine attire, the cigar on the Boulevard, the midnight frolic—were so many symptoms of the fever in which her earliest work was done. In burning itself out all these went with it, and "there was a great calm." Later, though not for a long time, she herself would have had this early work and life swept from existence—and, if possible, from recollection.

She had launched her boat fearlessly in tempestuous waters; she drifted with changing tides; she beat about in treacherous seas. She clung now and then to fancied rocks of strength, rested in false security, trusted, dreamed, and wrote her dreams; and woke invariably to find her rocks were swaying wrecks, "driven about of the winds and tossed." Yet ever she hung about the natures to which she held the halo of their possibilities, like sea-weeds around a broken anchor. Some glory of being, attained or to be attained, made her chosen ones dear at first. She loved all they might become —ideals first, individuals after. In Alfred de Musset poetry found a worshipper; in Chopin music won a new devotee. To place in its shrine the being who embodied music, was to bow before the music itself. To serve the interpreter with the best life of *her* life, was to serve the art. And in all this she was thorough woman. In her capacity for idealising and self-spending, she obeyed impulses that rarely stir save in souls of finest fibre and most generous type.

And it must be acknowledged that in the midst of her wildest tossing, in the blackest nights of her life, with those with whom her existence was from time to time interwoven, some innate nobleness ever kept her from sinking to hopeless inward loss.

Outwardly her destruction was complete; yet her face shines up through black waters, disappointed, agonised, struggling, yet ever turned longingly upward, ever searching for the light.

In "Consuelo," generally considered her greatest work, we have strong indication of the native power of her intellect to rise above the terrible moral and mental atmosphere which for a time enveloped and stifled her. In this book the morbid imagination seems purified, the low tone of feeling is vivified, and then overcome by comparatively wholesome sweetness and courage. Fresh, tonic breezes of healthful thought scatter the poisonous vapours that hung around the former books with a weight no genius could dispel. Higher qualities of honour and virtue are admitted in her range of human possibilities. The soul's need of a God is recognised and acknowledged, and from her bitterest delineations the hopelessness entirely disappears.

How her love for Italy, and for Venice especially, with its mystery and its music and its art, and the fascination of its past, shines forth on every page! How pure her ideal woman is in this creation! Genius could not be more uplifted and refined; aspiration could not be loftier, nor womanhood sweeter and truer, than she has painted them in the character of Consuelo. What power and delicacy combine in every sentence! The whole range of fiction shows scarcely a loftier creation. Thackeray says, "the charm of her melancholy sentences falls like the sound of country bells, sweetly and sadly on the ear." Their cadence is more like the wind among the pines she loved, or the lap of the waters against the gondola, drifting through a sunset on the lagune. With its sequel, the "Countess of Rudolstadt," it must be considered her masterpiece. The whole work reveals the unconscious effort of the soul to "leave the things that are behind." She rises so naturally to the contemplation of the beautiful and good in character that one forgets for the time that the wings of her genius have not always kept this upper, native air, and mourns the more that they should ever have trailed in the dust.

Through these books runs a purpose to exalt the high and true to its real place in the world. The style is simple and classic. Throughout the pages may be felt the enthusiasm for music and the influence on her own musical opinions of the mind of Chopin. The artistic nature of which she, no less than himself, was the possessor, rendered her, under the sway of this divinest art, an exquisite instrument, that echoed and re-echoed, with ever added sweetness, whatever harmony came to her.

She, perhaps, could not, though herself no mean musician, have created music; but music could have had no more loving interpreter. To her it was the higher language; comprehensible only to souls; but, in so far as it could be uttered in words, she could and did utter

it, and by this utterance the book became what some one has called a "grand sonata, through and through." This being true, it is not to be marvelled at that harmony and discord in the moral realm were as vivid to her preception as tempests and calms in nature, which music so often typified. She felt whatever passion of love or grief or joy swept over human souls and set them quivering with melodious or jarring vibration, as she felt the sweep of the winds over the forest or the tempest that maddened the seas. And herein lies her greatest power, that she not only felt, but depicted, as only two other women have done, the unuttered anguish and conflict and delight under which the soul triumphs in life or rushes downward to its death.

No one can read these books without being impressed with the marvellous fertility and spontaneity displayed in their construction. No phase of nature was too subtle for her to catch its spirit; no combination of circumstances too difficult for her dramatic skill; no character too profound or baffling for the rare penetrative quality of her insight; no vice too wicked for analysis and portrayal; no virtue too exalted to be felt and delineated with the vividness and fidelity of one of the old masters. She did not strive to amuse the world with her romancing. In all she did and said her intense earnestness would have been fierce but for the flash of fancy and play of wit. Alas that the light of these was often neither pure nor altogether serene. She did not scintillate, she blazed, and burned where she failed to illumine. It is pleasant to believe, that, once emancipated from the influence of earlier experiences, and risen to a purer region, she never went back again. The artist in her asserted greatness almost forced one to forget the woman. Life's currents in her had at one time run like lava streams that blackened and hardened on the surface into strange fantastic shapes; but any hand that thrust through the crust into the ashes below found them hot to the touch with the smoldering of an unquenchable fire. At one period she sent forth light and heat, but destruction seemed to follow to all things pure and lovely. But hot-heated as she was—a volcanic spiritual formation—no seas, however deep, or however coldly they beat about her, could ever chill her utterly. Verdure and tropical greenness grew again and again on the slopes where scathing lava tides had poured. Love of beauty, of nature in all its sweetest forms, love of childhood, of all tender and helpless things in life; compassion for the suffering and bounty to the poor, were some of the flowers that, later, sprang along the parched water-courses of her being. The great heart, throbbing out its life in secret, bursting now and then in volcanic lavishment of bestowment on some other heart (that warmed or shrivelled under the glow), pouring its broken alabaster boxes of precious ointment at unworthy feet, stunned into silence, was quiet

at last. When, as in "Consuelo," it spoke again, the tones were clear and unmistakable still, but out of them had died the fire of personal hope or longing or dread.

She had tested, by this time, her own theories of happiness and freedom, and found them powerless to produce either. She had eaten "the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil" with the sharers of her Edens, and did not find men grown more and more like gods. Most painfully do her books reveal the unquenchable thirst of her woman's heart for reality of truth and of fidelity—sad search for "hidden treasure" in the human hearts she drew to her own. The key-note of the work of ten years is this hopeless search. At first she was absorbed in contemplation of human misery; afterward eager in the effort to realise the possibility of human joy. In both these fell upon her the agitation of all that was terrible to bear, and that ought to have been terrible to tell. In the anguish of her disappointment, and the reaction that came to her inward life, as one reed after another failed her, we have one of the finest illustrations on record of the masculine power of intellect over the tried and torn womanly heart. Her transitions of experience were as rapid as her mental processes. As life wore on, one wreck after another parted and drifted from her hold. De Musset was estranged; Chopin, who had been for eight years her inspiration, was dead. Yet still the people lived; France and humanity remained; and her labours already begun for these were pursued with energy and vigour, as if she had never known any other objects of thought. Her devotion to the cause of human progress was that of a patriot, an enthusiast, and a woman. Philosophy and philanthropy and politics found large lodgment in her life, and wrought mightily, as her books of this second period abundantly prove.

In such a career as we find her now fairly entered upon she could not fail to find recognition and encouragement from the finest minds of the day. In "L'Histoire de ma Vie," we have glimpses of her contemporary celebrities, painted with her own peculiar skill. Here one finds in her recollections of Chopin the rank she gave his music in her mind. The work is a very voluminous one, comprising twenty volumes, of which the first four are devoted to recollections of her childhood; the other sixteen deal much less with the outward than the inward life, and give, in much detail, the progress of thought by which she came to the views on the subjects she has advocated in her books.

A nature so impressible and sympathetic could not fail to imbibe largely from those with whom she came in contact; and in her generosity she often called herself "enriched" by minds whose often irrational views she gave whole volumes to reproduce. Such works embody less of her genius, and will contribute less to her

lasting fame than others less pretentious, but more fully her own. These "purpose novels," to which we here allude, belong to the second of the three distinct periods of her literary career. In them her heart is turned outward to the world, and no longer inward to herself. She studies more; feels less. Humanity has her heart now, and her brain seems bravely to serve the heart, or else the heart keeps still to let the man's brain in her do a man's brave work. The first great social question she dealt with agitates her less as her range of sympathies widen. All her books now have a purpose, are written with an object, and, whatever the varying purpose may be in different books, they all mean the redress of some wrong, the restoration of some right, the ultimate blessing of mankind.

She writes now the communistic novels like "Le Companion du Tour de France," "Le Péché de M. Antoine and Spiridion." In all this work one finds the impress of M. Pierre Leroux. Associated with him in the proprietorship of the *Révue Independante*, labouring zealously with him in its columns for whatever was, for the time being, the cause of the people, it is not strange that she came to sympathise with his socialistic and communistic views.

Enjoying the esteem and friendship of the Abbe Lamennais, who found in her an eloquent defender of his schemes, however visionary they might be, she became imbued with the mysticism of the age. With Michael de Bourges for a teacher in politics, the democratic tendencies of her nature found most rapid development. She threw herself with enthusiastic fervour into the revolution of 1848, and her pen never seemed to rest in the expression of her sympathy with the masses. At this time she started a journal of her own, called *La Cause du Peuple*, in which she sought to disseminate the radicalism to which she was a convert. She wrote "La Commune de Paris," and translated Mazzini's "République et Royauté en Italie." She severed her connection with the *Révue des Deux Mondes*, and gave herself to politics with a recklessness that startled alike those who admired and those who feared her. The *Révue* published the eloquent article on the Wrongs of Poland and the Genius of Mickiewicz, which appeared about the time the works of that author were translated into French. In it and in the love of Poland it revealed, the influence of Lamennais is clearly seen. There appeared also in the *Révue*, at different times, "La Dernière Aldini," "Pauline," "La Marquise," "Matella Mattea," "Lavina," "Mauprat," "Les Maitres Mosaistes," and others, bearing marks of her association with men like Quinet, Michelet, and Balzac.

In this facility for the reproduction of the masculine minds with which she came in contact, many critics have descried an element

of weakness. Be that as it may, the reproduction always succeeded a conscientious adoption of what she strove to teach. The views, philosophic or otherwise, that she inculcated in her books were incorporated into her own mental fibre, and made a part of herself. She did not borrow or repeat, but she absorded and grew as an air-plant does. Like the gray moss on the sycamores, she, in growing, gave out what she had taken in, in ever new and ever varying forms.

At the basis of her mental structure lay the teaching of Rousseau, with whose ideas she became conversant early in life, and who, more than any other, was to her an apostle of light. His morals and philosophy charmed her, and easily undermined the few religious sentiments that marked her girlhood. These, such as they were, had not been acquired in infancy, for neither her grandmother, Madame Dupin, nor her own mother was calculated to impress the mind of a child with the truths of religion.

This grandmother had been a beauty, and in the childhood of the little Lucille, afterward Madam Sand, was still an accomplished and fascinating woman. She was the daughter of Maurice de Saxe, and the granddaughter of Augustus II, King of Poland. This king had been the father of Maurice, afterward Marshal of France. She was reared like a princess by her father's half-sister, the dauphiness, who became afterward the mother of Charles X and Louis XVIII. She resided, after her marriage to M. Dupin, in the beautiful Castle of Chenonceau, of Diana of Poitiers. There she surrounded herself with all the celebrities of her day. Le Harpe and Rousseau were her friends; Grétry was her master in music. Possibly some of Madame Dudevant's love of music may have been an inheritance. In her autobiography she speaks of having rushed from the room when she was a child to hide her tears whenever her grandmother sang.

The beautiful home had been transferred before that day to Nohant, where the childhood of the little Aurore passed, and where she lived the last twenty years of her life, and where she died. The father of Madame Sand was a soldier of the empire, and the only son of the proud old mother who refused her sanction to his marriage for many years. During his stay in Italy the young Maurice had found a woman whom he loved and to whom he remained faithful, though their marriage was not consummated till near the time of the birth of their third child, Amantine Lucille Aurore Dupin, the subject of this sketch. When the mother of Maurice did relent, she found it hard to receive into her home the woman who had, as she thought, ruined her beloved son; and it was not until her father's death, which occurred when the little Lucille was four years old, that they became inmates of the Chateau of Nohant. Earlier than this, she and her mother shared a soldier's

fortunes with her father. With him they had gone into Spain, and had been quartered in a royal palace, where she had been dressed like a Spanish child, all of which she remembered, with the impression it made on her childish imagination, and the thoughts it aroused.

She remained at Nohant until the age of thirteen, doing much as she pleased, living much in the open air, and developing doubtless that love of nature that runs like a silver stream through all her books. Sometimes, even in the worst of them, it flows so purely as to make one wish it could wash away all stain, or at least to wonder how this and a polluted moral current could flow side by side in the same heart. Never was there a soul more susceptible than hers to the teachings of cloud and forest and field and flower. Even in her childhood we find traces of the sweetness of nature's ministry to the young neglected soul. She had for playmates, in these years, the barefooted children of the peasants, whose joys and sorrows she began even at this early age to share. It may be that her love for democracy received its earliest impulse at this time.

Unfortunately her mother possessed none of the qualities that make a woman a safe quide for a mind and heart like this. She was piquant, vivacious, volatile, passionate, jealous, and pretty. Madame Sand speaks of her with the fondness one would show for a pleasant plaything, but never seemed to have for her the reverence that would tenderly hide her follies from the world. She had much natural cleverness and some talent, was now and then fitfully devout, and again indifferent.

Left to the care of two such persons as this mother and this grandmother, who troubled themselves about her training sufficiently to disagree concerning its methods, and who were too fully occupied each with herself to be troubled often, her life had little restraint or direction. She had free range of park and garden, and the neighbouring fields and cottages. She was left to herself day after day in the library, to find what she could and to devour all that she found. When, at the age of thirteen, the child had grown troublesome, they woke to the fact that she must be aided in her development, and sent her to the convent school kept by the English Augustine nuns in the Rue des Tour St. Victor, at Paris. Here she remained until her seventeenth year, a frolicsome, lovable child, full of caprices as the wind. The training seems to have been healthful and judicious. The poetical and imaginative side of her nature received little stimulant, yet was sufficiently alive to become the medium of almost the only religious experience on record. She is said to have entered the convent chapel at sunset just as a ray of warm light fell on the face of the Christ in a painting above the altar. Prayer, teaching of devoted nuns, confession and penance, had never

touched her heart, and doubts had been hers almost from childhood —an inheritance from those near and remote who had gone before her. But, before this suffering face, with the ideal it suggested of compassionate love, the girl's heart broke, and her surrender seemed to be complete to all she had previously resisted.

So powerful and long continued was the impression made upon her, and so real the resultant change of life, that she would surely have renounced the world and chosen the life of a *religieuse*, had her friends permitted the step. Art, as seen in a crucifixion of Titian's, had subdued her, but, as the result sadly proved, no new controlling and abiding principle had entered into her life. In turning from her purpose to be a nun, she seemed to lose her purpose to be a Christian, though we have abundant evidence of her continued belief in the individual responsibility of every soul to its Divine Author. She published in 1837 a little book called "Lettres â Marcie," which breathes a spirit of devout resignation that is truly Christian. In her later works rises continually higher and higher her advocacy of goodness and truth; but she never seems to reach the something for which she gropes in the dark, never escapes thoroughly from the effect of ancestorial recklessness and an education wholly irregular and illogical. She does not seem to have had any antipathy to the restraints of her convent life. The nuns seem to have been truly good and truly cultivated. For several of them she felt a strong attachment, and one, the daughter of the ancient English house of Storer, had great influence over her mind. With her she read and learned to love Shakespeare, and she never ceased to remember and write to her till the time of the aged nun's decease; yet, when she returned to Nohant she was placed in the care of a tutor, M. Dechartes, who was an atheist, and books again offered to her thoroughly awakened mind their often dangerous teaching. She wanders from one theory of belief to another, half-accepting, half-rejecting, and never knowing the rest of faith. In "Consuelo" we have painful evidence of the influence on her mind of that vague mysticism she tried to substitute for this rest.

Starting with such an inheritance from her ancestry, after a childhood full of uncontrolled impulses; after a youth full of mental vitality, with many diverse and adverse influences to control it; with magnificent powers, unrecognised by herself and misdirected by others—it is not strange that we find her adrift at the threshold of life's responsibilities, without compass, chart, or safeguard, beyond the small restraints of the society in which she lived —poorly equipped, indeed, for a noble womanhood.

One lingers sadly at this period of grand possibilities as yet unmarred. The book of her life, with its white pages as yet unstained, lies outspread—and we see a nature susceptible of the

highest development, a heart large enough to enfold a world's sorrow in its sympathy, a brain endowed with wondrous power to enlighten and bless. If at this time some good angel had laid a strong and gentle hand upon her life; if her soul could have found anchorage in God; if feeling and thought and action could have been held to the stern tribunal of right, what years of unrest and pain had been spared to her, what years of glorious work in other directions had been given to the world!

Just here she made the primary mistake of her life. The leaving her home has been considered her first great error. The sin that prepared the way for all that followed was committed ten years earlier, when she consented to enter the home at all. We censure her that she dethroned God and enthroned her own soul. But she was not true to what her own soul taught her. The voice that spoke so loudly in her could not have been silent at this critical moment of existence. She knew she did not love M. Dudevant, and the courage that could combat a world to escape a prison should have dared to turn away when its open door invited her to enter. She was not, nor could she have been, forced to this step, even under the pernicious system of France, that marries its daughters with scarcely the consideration for their preference that is shown in the Orient to favourite slaves. She had had her own way for eighteen years, and could have had it again. She forged with her own hand the chain that in its reality, in resistance or in recollection, she never threw off, till they laid her under the sod at Nohant.

In our pity for the suffering that burned in her till her life's hot tides of rebellion overflowed upon the world, we must not make the mistake of supposing her a martyr chosen for furnace fires, over which bent the watchful face of the Refiner.

The system that left her little choice may have been wrong, but she chose to be its victim. When the flames hurt her she cried out in her anger, forgetting she had placed herself within their reach. There was, even then, while they burned, "a pure river of Water of Life, flowing out of the throne of God," that would have made them endurable, and saved them from growing to the fierceness of "consuming fires." Noble loving and noble living were still a reality in France, though she refused to believe it. Doubtless they formed a part of God's great plan for her own life, if she could have waited the working of His will. But she reared her own shrine, chose her own idols, and when, on the foundation of expediency and custom, the home-life proved a failure, she could not see that it had no well-grounded hope to be anything better. All the sweetness of youth seemed to give place to the bitterness of disappointed womanhood. The artist woke to life in her while her heart shrivelled and rebelled. Motherhood, that would have

saved most women, failed in its sweet ministry to her, though she remained a tender mother to the end of her days.

The decade of her life that passed between that evening in Tortoni's "Café on the Boulevard des Italiens," when she met Cassimir Dudevant for the first time, and the day when she began her artist career, going out alone and poor and leaving him in her ancestral home at Nohant, must have been a sad period indeed to have armed her with no better weapons for her work than defiance and scorn. She spared no idols now that her own had fallen; she extinguished pitilessly the fire on all hearts because her own was cold; in her merciless iconoclasm she would have smitten down the shrine in every temple of domestic peace. She was cruel as a surgeon who lays bare a sore and pours vitriol in for healing. She hurried with feverish energy forward on her own pilgrimage, seeing others wounded by the way, and crying out often in her own pain; but, for years, she bore no cruse of oil, nor poured one drop of wine for those who suffered with her.

The end of a second decade spent in writing finds her still trying to hold the same place. On the appearance of a new edition of her works she still indignantly repels the conservative criticism that "she should expose no evil for which she had not found a cure." She said she had asked of the age, in "Indiana" and "Valentine," "What is its philosophy of marriage as considered in our day?" In "Lelia" and "Jacques" she demanded "what it understood by love?" In "Spiridion" she inquired of the "significance of its religion," and in "La Companion de la Tour de France," "what was meant by social and what by human right?" She complains of the method of answering questions by censuring the questioner, and said no answer had come to her save that of King Dagrobert, who said, "he liked not wherefores." She still asserts that her views are unaltered, her theories supported by her riper judgment and convictions.

However this may have seemed to her, the creeping years show marvellous changes in the spirit and purpose of her work. Whether she wearied of the hopeless task of bringing any good result out of the agitation of social questions, or whether the establishment of the monarchy made her despair of democratic political results, certain it is that we find her gradually losing the intensity of feeling she expended at these periods, and coming into a serener and purer atmosphere. In her writing, human love and philanthrophic sympathy still have place, but love of nature and art have controlling sway.

Her fondness for the drama had led to the arrangement of many of her works for the stage, to which her contributions numbered no less than twenty pieces. But few of these had marked success, and those owed it to the aid in their adaptation received from

practical dramatists. Almost every French novelist, at one time or another, seems to have entered this field, and in comparison with others she cannot be said to have failed, though she was much better fitted for the sustained effort of the novel than for the vivacious action of the drama. Unfortunately, the worst features of her books were often made more prominent in their dramatisation, and their literary merit does not compensate for their immoral tone. The little theatre at Nohant was saved this scourge of vulgarity, and made a source of great delight to herself and friends. One of her latest and sweetest occupations was the preparation of little plays for her grandchildren.

Of the sixty novels she wrote, it will remain for future generations to say how much shall live. That she was the greatest writer of her day, not excepting George Elliot, is conceded by many discriminating minds on both hemispheres. That she had the ability to have become the most influential woman of her day, and would, but for her fatal immorality, have left the world that admired the artist loving the woman as well, is unquestionably true. Never were rarer possibilities and opportunities given to a human soul; never such rare endowments withheld from the good they might have done by the evil with which they tampered. When we think of her work in comparison with that of Madame de Staël, the intrinsic womanliness of it shines through all efforts to stifle or to hide it. Her style is finer than that of the author of "Adam Bede" and "Romola," and in its grace, force, and expressiveness the world offers no other woman's work with which to compare it. Her creative power was as great as George Elliot's, and her diction even more vigorous and pure. Mrs. Browning's recognition of her genius is frank and grand, and the tenderness in it shows clearly that the great wandering soul inspired her pity no less than her admiration. She was what the author of "Aurora Leigh" called her—"a large-brained woman and large-hearted man."

Great hearts all the world over have been very tender towards this misguided life. They have believed her to be conscientious, and that her errors sprang not from personal love of evil, but were natural results of a rash and delusive scheme of life. She ever bound to her in faithful friendship souls that, rejecting her philosophy, gave glad recognition of her mental power. Heine, who knew her in the days of Chopin, appreciated all that was finest in her. Sainte Beuve, in his reviews of separate works, is perhaps as acute in analysis and as just in judgment as any who have spoken of her.

It is only when we comprehend fully her masterly powers, and realise what such a woman might have done and might have been, that the moral of her misguided life takes on its full impressiveness. Victor Hugo was right when he said, "France needs a

woman tender and strong." Had she been strong where she was weak, France was of all countries the one to have adored her. She might, had she brought her magnificent powers to bear against the lawlessness and sensualism of her day, have built barriers to vice that would have checked its flood. What could she not have done for the women of her time in her half-century of work! Such knowledge of all the subtle phases of human passion as she possessed gave her the key to hearts. Such eloquence and power made her influence irresistible whenever she chose to exercise it. It was for her to have kindled noble aspirations in women; to have been herself the representative of all that was greatest and purest. She could have wrought so mightily on the three generations she saw, that shame should have overtaken social wrong. To-day those who most admired her genius are half afraid to say she was worthy of France. It was in her power to have made France strive to be worthy of her. She reigns over a world of thought in which she created a new era. She should have been a ruler in a higher moral realm, that would have recognised her sceptre and have been redeemed under her sway. How she could have exalted homes! how she could have stimulated mothers, who, in turn, should have inspired a scorn of vice in sons, and a higher ideal of womanly purity in daughters! She could have led the men she followed, and those whose pernicious views she echoed would have loved her all the more had her voice only answered to tones that were high and pure. Admire her as we must, we cannot escape from the sense of the awful waste of God's best gifts in the years when she lived down to the moral level of her age.

In all the later period of her life, the third period of her work, that produced sylvan novels, of which "La Mare au Diable," "La Petite Fadette," "François le Champi," are types, we have the illustration of her return to the pure work of the artist, leaving that of the politician and reformer. The purpose seems to drop out of her novels, and they grow charming just in proportion as this is the case. Many of these later works so abound in moral and religious sentiment, in the beauty of home scenes and a pure home life, as to make the reader feel the struggling soul has indeed found its natural refuge and rest in the home of her childhood, surrounded by the children and grandchildren she so dearly loved. For these little girls her affection seemed to know no bounds. She became their instructress, and found great delight in guiding their young minds in the study of nature and of books. She was an accomplished botanist, and imparted to the little ones her sympathy with the flowers. Doubtless, the memory of her own neglected childhood made her all the tenderer toward those to whom she would save a repetition of her darkened and troubled years.

Her love of nature is very marked at this period. Natural scenery never in words had a better painter. The southern

provinces of her sunny France have never been touched with so loving a pencil. Her soul, always susceptible, opened more and more in later years to the silent communion with leaf and wind and forest and flower. All brought to her their sweetest lessons. The poetry in her, for she was in the best sense a poet, seemed quickened into new life. It is in the works of this period we shall find her enduring fame, long after the world shall have ceased to censure her falsities of life and teaching.

In human nature some of her happiest displays of power are in the descriptions of peasants' life and character, as shown in the unfolding of minds and hearts of the simple and virtuous poor. In her talent for clothing in artistic form the popular sentiments of humble life she has made for the world a new era, and for herself a distinctive place in literature.

Her love for the poor and lowly was a reality. They were not strangers who gathered about her grave. To the whole region in which she lived she had been a benediction indeed. She was a mighty advocate for the doctrine of work, and held herself to her ideal as she would have held the labourer who earned but his penny a day. Mighty as she was in genius, she conquered by labour. She was indefatigable in study, and perseveringly persistent in toil. In days when Liszt was her guest, and Chopin at home in his cottage on her estate, the great trio met only at dinner. The early morning, and far into the day, was devoted to labour almost up to the time of her death. Work had ever been the law of her intellectual life, and music and society were supplementary and inspirational. Her latest work, "Mariamne," published in 1875, is alive with inspiration, and shows no decline in power; and her last article on the Marionettes of Nohant, published in *Le Temps*, only five weeks before her death, show all her original keenness of analysis.

Old age came on her in the grateful quiet and sweetness of a home-life, which, above all things, she loved, though she had written so much to make bad homes worse, and ignored the possibility of a home-life that was true and good. Around her, much of whose work our children must not touch lest they be defiled, clung pure little children, to whom her old heart clung with tenderness untold. Into her seemed to have stolen a softened love for God's creatures that looked like love to the great Father Himself.

I find in the allusions in French journals to her life and death a notice which I believe has not before been translated, containing a letter written to a friend in 1869. It contains, also, the last letter of her life, written to her physician, Dr. Henri Favre, in Paris, only two days before her last attack, and contributed by him to *La Figaro*.

The first gives such a picture of her peaceful later years, that I cannot resist the temptation to transcribe it. She says:—

"Nothing of interest during the last twenty-five years has occurred. It has been a very calm and a very happy old age in my family, crossed sometimes by griefs altogether personal, by deaths, and by the general conditions of life from which we all suffer more or less.

"I will reply to all questions which it would be agreeable for you to put to me if we were talking. I have lost two much-loved grand-children—the daughter of my daughter, and the son of Maurice. I have still left two charming little ones, from the happy marriage of my son. I have given my children the control of the house and of everything. My time is passed in amusing the children, in botanising a little in summer, in long walks (I am still a famous pedestrian), and with romances. When I can find the time I write two hours in the day and two in the evening. I write easily and with pleasure. It is my recreation. My correspondence is enormous, and in that lies my work You know how that is! If one only had to write to one's friends! But what touching and distressing appeals come to one! In every case for which I can do something I reply. When I can do nothing, I say nothing. Some instances incline one to try, even without much hope of succeeding. All that can then be said is that one makes the endeavour. All this with the personal interests with which one must sometimes be occupied demands ten letters a day. It is indeed an affliction, but who has not his own?

"I hope after I die to go into a planet where one will not know how either to read or to write. It will be necessary to be very perfect in order to have no such need. While waiting on this earth it certainly must be otherwise. If you wish to know my material condition it is easy to satisfy you. I have earned a million by my work. I have not laid aside one sou. I have given away all except twenty thousand francs, which two years ago I secured, so that, should I fall ill I would not be too great a care upon my children; and yet I am not sure of keeping this capital, for I fear those will be found who will have need of it. If I remain well enough to replace this money, my economies will become less strict. Keep my secret, because I guard it most carefully."

To the Doctor she writes under date of May 28th:—

"Thanks for your good letter, my dear friend. I will follow all your prescriptions. I wish to add to my account of yesterday a reply to your questions of to-day. My general condition is not less favourable, and despite my age, almost seventy-two years, I do not feel the accompaniments of senility. My limbs are strong, my sight is better than it has been for twenty years; my sleep is quiet, my hands are steady, and as skillful as they were in the days of my

youth. When I do not suffer excessive pain I feel stronger and freer in my being than I have ever been. I was slightly asthmatic; I am so no longer. I climb the stairs as nimbly as my dog. But since a portion of my vital functions are suppressed by an incurable disease, I ask myself if I must not expect a sudden departure one of these mornings. I should prefer to know it to being taken by surprise. I am not one of those who affect to submit to a great law yet revolt from the termination of universal life. But I will use for my cure all that shall be prescribed, and, if I have an interval of a day or two between my attacks, I will go to Paris, so that you can aid me in prolonging my task; for I am still useful to my own. Maurice is better. We present our compliments to your invalid. We believe that you will save her, and we love you."

Two days later came the attack that nothing but death could relieve. Her life went out in a storm and in darkness. She struggled through its latest days of anguish with a heroism that showed undaunted vigour of soul. She would have died alone if they had permitted, rather than have them see her suffer. The last hours passed in silence, the last words, as nearly as they could interpret them, were a request to spare the pines and the green things about her grave. There was freshness and greenness in her life untouched by the terrible frost that had fallen upon it. Let us believe the Hand that so richly endowed her spared all that was left unblighted, and buried in the Red Sea of His pardon all that ought to be forever hidden from human sight.—*American National Repository.*

ART. II.—THE STUDY OF PHILOSOPHY: ITS ADVANTAGES TO YOUNG MINISTERS.

BY THE REV. HUGH GILMORE.

IT is not necessary that philosophy should be studied for its own sake. That may be the condition of proficiency in it; but the number of students so singleminded must necessarily be very limited, the majority being influenced by lower motives—by the assistance which it renders in other departments of life and thought. And though these may never attain to a knowledge of all its secrets, yet they may learn enough to love it, and through it may acquire a habit of thought valuable in every concern of life. It is, therefore, competent for those who would recruit in its name to show the objective benefits which the study offers; and this is, perhaps, the more required in the present time from the splendid successes attending the pursuit of the physical sciences, and the general temper of mind which has in consequence been

our intellectual range, and the mind is fitted and disposed for the reception by faith of that which it could not attain by reason. For after that in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe. Not only is it true of the existence and nature of God, but of all other religious truths, that they have their root in reason; and before they can be known in their fulness the contents of reason must be explored. Reason leads us so far, but leaves us at last in darkness and perplexity; but when reason fails us the light of revelation guides us, and, as a supplementary knowledge, gives us rest and peace. Before, however, revelation can be received in this light the reason must be exercised to this height. All the natural and knowable must be exhausted before we can realise the supplementary and complementary character of the Gospel. And though this was done on a broad scale by the ancient Greeks, yet it has to be repeated by every true thinker for himself. The plan of the whole is repeated in the experience of the individual. Natural theology prepares the way, is the schoolmaster to fit us for the reception and realisation of revealed theology. And it may be confidently asserted that no one can know the fulness, glory, and worth of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ who has not first learned the result of human endeavour.

There are various methods employed in the exposition of the Gospel, but whatever the method, the intent is always the same, namely, to present the truth in such a way as will convince the judgment and conscience of the hearer. Religion is in the first aspect of it a matter of thought, and in the second a matter of conduct. It is a doctrine and a life, a creed and an experience; and it may be presented in one or other of these forms; but whatever view of it is presented equally involves the necessity of a knowledge of philosophy. If the objective method is pursued, and the preacher confines himself to the statement of doctrine, he has to deal with first principles—the material of philosophy; if, on the other hand, the subjective plan is followed and the experiences of the soul are analysed and traced to their causes, is not a knowledge of psychology—the foundation of philosophy—indispensable? After what we have said in the preceding paragraph, it is not necessary to shew the philosophical character of the doctrines of the Gospel. They all relate to the soul and God, are the divine answers to those deep, stubborn questionings which have given birth to philosophy. On the experimental side, both because it is the most common method, and that which is thought by some the most independent of philosophy, we may say a word or two to indicate the need of a knowledge of philosophy. What is the nature, foundation, and reasons of moral obligation? What is the nature of faith, that supreme virtue upon which Christ

lays such stress, and which is evermore in the Christian method of life represented as the root of all goodness? Is it an ordinary faculty of our nature, with which all men are endowed? or a special power, called into operation only through the action of the Spirit of God upon the heart? Are there certain conditions more favourable to its action than others? and, if so, what are they? Wherein do the Christian virtues differ from natural virtues? What is meant by divine grace strengthening us? What is strengthened? And how are we strengthened? &c., &c., &c. Who does not see that any endeavour to understand and explain Christian experience or to explain and enforce Christian precepts, duties and hopes, involves, as a first condition, a knowledge of philosophy. And we may further mention that the views which are held in philosophy determine the views which are held concerning Christian experiences. The preacher appeals to the minds of his hearers, to their reason, understanding, and feelings; and surely it is not too much to say that unless he knows something of the nature of the instrument he plays upon, he is not very likely to attain great success. If he succeeds, it is by haphazard. He may know the truths of the Gospel very well. He may be expert in reading them off; but unless he also knows something of the processes of thought, he is not well qualified for his work. A person may be well acquainted with notation. May be able to read the most difficult score at first sight; but it does not follow that because he can do that he can play well upon the piano. When he sits down to it he may produce only the most frightful discord. It is necessary for him not only to have learnt notation, but also to have learnt to manipulate the instrument. So with the preacher. The human soul is a more delicate and difficult instrument than the piano; it requires more skill to learn to play upon it, and it is capable of grander music. But a person to play upon it must understand it. It is not alone necessary that he know and can explain the Gospel. He must know how to touch the springs of thought and feeling, how to combine and arrange his thoughts, and how to present them so as that they will produce the effect he desires. What a difference there is between a person sitting down and thumping away at a piano who has no knowledge of it, and a person who is skilled in the use of it. He is capable of making plenty of noise, no doubt; but noise is not music. So with the preacher who does not understand the nature of the instrument he plays upon; he may produce a noise, and occasionally may bring out a proper chord, but he is more likely to awaken disgust than conviction, to offend and repel, than to win and save.

To sum up this part of the subject, we hold that the study of philosophy is useful to the preacher as a mental discipline and as

a knowledge; that it calls into activity all the powers of his mind, but specially cultivates those necessary in the apprehension of abstract and spiritual truth; that it helps to a fuller and more perfect understanding and appreciation of the grand truths of the Gospel, and so strengthens his own faith and fits him the more to guide the faith of others; that it is also helpful in the exposition of the doctrines, duties, precepts, and hopes of the Christian life, and in applying them to the hearts and consciences of his hearers. Now we should turn to the second part of the subject and shew its value in the defence of the Gospel, but the subject is so large that our space will not permit us to venture upon it. Suffice it to say that every form of error in theology springs from some error in philosophy. A true reasoned philosophy necessarily leads to the Gospel. And instead of Christian advocates discussing with unbelievers questions in theology, we have always thought the first thing to settle should be the principles of philosophy. Whether the questions raised are of the nature and existence of God, or of the divinity or interpretation of Scripture, we will find prior questions in philosophy which ought to be settled, and the settlement of which would, in a large measure, be the settlement of the religious differences. What is at the bottom of all religious error but the assumption of the sufficiency of reason; and, ought reason not to be interrogated in relation to its sufficiency? And if it is found that it cannot yield us a rule of conduct, is the presumption not established, as the ancient philosophers felt, that light should be sent to us from heaven? No man can make any pretence to a defence of the Gospel who does not understand the first principles from which the objections of the opponents proceed, and no one can do this who is not familiar not only with philosophical method, but with the various systems of philosophy held by men.

We are conscious of how imperfectly we have pleaded the cause of our client, how few are the reasons we have stated why our young men should cultivate the study of philosophy. We have said nothing concerning the relation between philosophy and morals, concerning the universal interest it excites in relation to man, and we have only in a very general way indicated some of the immediate advantages which it offers to the preacher; but we hope we have said enough to shew that the study of philosophy will richly repay the time and attention given to it, and that the preacher who will be a workman that needeth not to be ashamed cannot afford to overlook it.

ART. III.—ETERNAL PUNISHMENT *versus* CONDITIONAL IMMORTALITY.

BY THE REV. HOSEA HEWITT.

THOSE who only speak and act after careful and patient thought, and from deep and hard-earned conviction on any given subject, realise the value and bearings of the question to an extent the unthinking multitude can hardly be expected to do. Hence the self-denying friends of advancing knowledge, of true science and reformation have had to stand alone and fight their way in the face of stubborn prejudice, and selfish ignorance, and adverse criticism. Each succeeding age has failed to guage the greatness, and catch the inspiration, and understand and appreciate the work of those teachers and friends and benefactors of mankind, the benefit of whose labours it was privileged to reap. The sluggish temper of the world has resented, hitherto, almost every attempt to quicken its pace in the path of progress. And since, in the swift succession of events, and the rapidly changing phases of religious opinion and belief, we know not how soon what is now branded as heresy or cried down as dangerous may become part of the popular faith, it would seem a violation of well-counselled prudence and calm judgment to denounce any given theory, however new and startling, with inconsiderate heat and haste. "Our duty," said the cool philosopher Spinoza, "is neither to ridicule the affairs of men, nor to deplore, but simply to understand them." It would certainly have been better for religious controversy, and for the truth itself, had the disputants on both sides raved less and reasoned more. God's truth needs not the service of our angry passions. Secure in her ancient stronghold, she can afford to smile at the feeble rage and self-distracting tumult of her adversaries. It is always well to keep such facts in mind. In the present state of theological enquiry there is a danger of our betraying a needless and almost heathenish anxiety concerning the "faith once delivered to the saints." The present age has been described as one that is "destitute of faith, yet terrified at scepticism." The epigram is more smart than true. It contains a strong spice of exaggeration. Still, perhaps, it would be difficult to conceive anything better fitted to give a strong colouring of truth to such a notion than hasty and flippant condemnation of modern developments of theological thought and opinion. If we meet calm statements and rational appeals with irrational prejudice, cries of alarm, charges of heresy, exciting declamations, and the like; if, in our defence of the old positions in theology, we confine ourselves to what a great modern writer and critic * very significantly calls "arguments of despair," are

* Matthew Arnold.

we not choosing the most effectual method of raising the proud hopes of a boastful infidelity, and widening the chinks and crevices in the floodgate of error? An intelligent and well-grounded confidence in revealed truth will always save men from the weaknesses of haste and confusion.

While, however, it is well, on the one hand, to vindicate ourselves from the charge of being terrified at the scepticism of the age, by our moderation and calmness in the defence of religious truth, it is equally our duty, on the other hand, to repel the insinuation that we are "destitute of faith." And we shall not do this by folding our arms and looking coldly and indifferently on while the battle of vital questions rages all around us. Our sworn allegiance to Christ involves loyalty to the great and precious truths He taught. Besides, it is our duty to help, whether by controversy or other means, to clear the atmosphere of religious thought, so that men's souls may freely breathe the breath of heavenly truth in its freshness and purity: it is our duty to help in widening the skirts of light. And among Christian men, where the strife is less for triumph than for truth, the results of rational, sober and candid controversy cannot be wholly bad.

So much it was thought necessary to say, in the way of preliminary remark, before entering on the subject proper of this paper; the more so as the advocates of the theory of "Conditional Immortality," being in a minority, are naturally quick to detect and denounce a want of charity, candour, or fairness in those who contend for the old and popular view.

Turning now to the subject before us, we wish at the outset to remind our readers that the doctrine of Eternal Retribution, viewed in its relation to the Divine Benevolence, can never be disrobed of its mystery, nor rendered comprehensible by the human reason. Unless we can know perfectly the essential nature, far-reaching results, and full demerit of sin, on the one hand, and investigate and fathom the eternal principles on which the moral government of God is founded, and the eternal laws on which it proceeds, on the other; unless, in a word, we can penetrate the deep secrets of Eternal Being, we cannot hope to divest the subject of future punishment of the mystery that envelops it. Nor can we, without great presumption, think ourselves competent to pronounce on the justness, or otherwise, of the divine conduct in any particular case. The eloquent words of Hooker convey an old caution, but the necessity for it is ever repeating itself: "Dangerous it were for the feeble brain of man to wade far into the doings of the Almighty, whom, although to know be life, and joy to make mention of His name, yet our soundest knowledge is to know that we know Him not as indeed he is, neither can know Him; and our safest eloquence concerning Him is our silence when we con-

fess, without confession, that His glory is inexplicable, His greatness above our capacity and reach." * So much truth and force is there in these words that we may always safely regard it as a strong presumption against the probable soundness and accuracy of any view when it pretends to lift the veil of obscurity and mystery from the ways and dealings of the Infinite, Incomprehensible, and Unsearchable God.

The eternal consequences of sin is an awful and momentous subject. On whichever side approached it is beset with difficulties. Its contemplation fills the mind with the most sad and painful thoughts. The existence and effects of evil in the present state have ever been the great problem of religious philosophy; it was scarcely to be expected that its future and ultimate results would present questions less dark and intricate and difficult to settle; and yet the subject is sometimes discussed with as much freedom, and settled with as much dogmatic confidence, as if it were the plainest and simplest of all. This, it appears to us, is the great error into which the advocates of Conditional Immortality have fallen.

In the report of a conference on this subject, held last May in London, a copy of which has been "sent to every Christian minister in the United Kingdom, and to every English missionary in the world," it is assumed, with singular simplicity and confidence, that the new theory of man's nature and destiny clears the ways and purposes of God, in relation to mankind, of all distressing mystery; that it "unlocks the riddle of God's word," supplies the "keystone to the arch of evangelical truth by which it is rendered strong and self-supporting," and that it makes "the beauty and harmony of the divine plan of redemption delightful to contemplate." †

We shall not stay to inquire how the great "arch of evangelical truth" has held together for so many centuries without this recently discovered "keystone." Nor shall we pause to wonder that God's word should have been left an unlocked riddle, a "tangle of confused ideas," until this new "light of men" arose in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Such assumptions may be safely left, without comment of ours, to the judgment of thoughtful men. Here, surely, the zeal of the theological partizan has got the better of the coolness and modesty of the philosopher. What we venture to say is, that men will never be brought to a "fuller acquiescence in the ways and purposes of God" if they wait till by this new, or any older theory, they understand them. "How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out." Our bewildered reason discovers that "Clouds and darkness are about Him;" our faith assures us that "righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His throne."

* Hooker's Eccles. Pol., Bk. i., Ch. i.

† Report of a Conference on Conditional Immortality. Preface, pp. 6 & 7.

But we pause here to inquire, what are the special advantages of this view which is urged upon our acceptance in place of the old and commonly-received doctrine of the soul's endless existence in happiness or misery, according to its final condition and just deserts? Is it more in harmony with the scriptural account of man's nature and destiny? Does it make the divine character appear more benevolent, attractive, and consistent with itself, and the divine moral government more just and reasonable? Is it fitted to increase the influence of moral and religious motives on the minds of sinful men? Does it present any inducement to increased exertion and self-denial on the part of Christians for the salvation and spiritual enlightenment of the thousands of their dark, degraded, and miserable fellow mortals around them?

If the advocates of Conditional Immortality could substantiate an affirmative to these questions they would render an important service to Christendom, and would win, we have no doubt, the admiration and gratitude, the cordial alliance and support, of those of their fellow Christians who now believe them to be in error. For surely if the Church of God has been mistaken all along on a question of doctrine so prominent in her public teachings, and so intimately blended, hitherto, with her persuasive influence on the world; a doctrine, moreover, which, according to the advocates of Conditional Immortality, has "checked and hampered" the work of God on the mission field, and increased the difficulties of the missionaries,* no one would think him the least in the kingdom of God who should enlighten her darkness and correct her longstanding error on the question.

Indeed, the exponents of the new teaching seem fully aware of the gravity of the situation. It would seem as if they considered themselves raised up to meet the theological crisis of the age. The Rev. E. White—the father of the new school—tells us in very plain and ominous language that the "old basis of faith in a future state of reward and punishment—the doctrine of the natural deathlessness of the soul—is sinking away before our eyes over the breadth of Christendom;"† that "an awful darkness is slowly settling upon the most interesting part of European society. Men in multitudes are losing their faith in natural immortality, and with that their faith in revelation." "The grand and awful vision of eternal glory in the future, whether for some or for all, is vanishing from before the minds of millions;"‡ and it is more than broadly hinted that in the face of this "scientific dissolution of faith" we are helpless unless we shift our position. Certainly, if all this be true, it is high time we looked around us. Still we venture to think it an open question whether the thing most needed in the present crisis be the abandonment of the doctrine of Eternal

* Report, p. 23. †Report, p. 26. ‡ Report, p. 27.

Retribution, and the soul's natural immortality, and whether, by such a proceeding, we should strengthen our position against the assaults of modern scepticism.

Reverting to the questions proposed above, we ask, Is the doctrine of the mortality of the human soul more in harmony with the scriptural account of man's nature and destiny than the view hitherto held and taught by the Church of God as orthodox? To establish an affirmative to this question is the aim of the labours of Mr. White and those who think with him. Every effort is put forth, every argument is used, to dislodge the ancient and popular belief from whatever defences it may have either in philosophy or theology. Endless existence is denied to man as an attribute and prerogative of his spiritual nature. It is contended that its endowment was not part of the great act of his creation when God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; it is simply a result of regenerating grace. Scripture, we are told, does not teach it. Biological science declares against it. "The brain, or thinking organ of man, is produced by a process precisely similar to that by which the brain or thinking organ of all animals is produced; whence it is inferred that the prospect of the survival of the thinking power of man in death is exactly equal to the probability of its survival in the death of animals—that is, that there is no natural prospect of its survival in either case."* Such is the latest announcement of biological science; and it is adduced in proof of the soul's ultimate extinction.

Before proceeding to examine what are assumed as the scriptural grounds of the new position, we shall consider the character and value of the argument from science. We ask, what does this argument prove? That the thinking power in man does not survive the material organs with which it is supposed to be connected, and that, consequently, man dies as the animal dies, death being the immediate cessation of his conscious existence? But this is proving too much, surely, even for the advocates of Conditional Immortality; for in that case there could be no judgment or future retribution at all. Mr. White seems to have felt this difficulty, and to have done his best to meet it. He reminds us that "the whole respecting man is not ascertainable by science."† Why, then, parade its conclusions before us at all if it is incompetent to decide anything? The fact is, dogmatic science, as developed by modern materialists, and revelation are irreconcilably at issue on the matter. Science says, "there is no prospect of the survival of man's soul or thinking power in death." "Revelation requires us to believe in the actual survival of our personal consciousness, and the perpetuity of our sense of good and evil, and our continued sensibility to pain and pleasure, and the unbroken

* Report, p. 26. † Report, p. 28.

recollection in another life of the events and affections of the present state."* So much, at least, seems necessary as the basis of final judgment and of future reward and punishment. Such being the case, the only alternative is, either to accept the conclusions of science and reject the statements of revelation, or else stand by revealed truth in open defiance of science. The pretensions of science, however, are more modest and cautious than Mr. White would lead us to suppose. The tendency of all natural science is to develop itself into a philosophy; it is ever striving after some hidden unity, some simple general principle that shall give form and movement to the whole. At this consummation, on the confession of some of its greatest votaries, it has not yet arrived. It is upon the newest department of biological science that one of the four authorities quoted by Mr. White, viz., Professor Huxley, makes the following remark: "It need hardly be said that in dealing with such a problem as this science rapidly passes beyond the bounds of positively verifiable fact, and enters those of more or less justifiable speculation." If, then, it be so, the question as between science and revelation simply reduces itself to this—Does natural science require verification before it can demand our belief of its statements, or does it not? If it does not, surely other transcendant statements, unverifiable by physical experiment, but otherwise credibly grounded, have a right to our belief. Man's thinking and aspiring soul; his conscience, with its peculiar moral phenomena; with its vivid anticipations of future reward and punishment, are facts that demand a competent theory to explain them, as much as do the phenomena of light, heat, electricity, &c. That theory is the scriptural doctrine of an eternal future state.

It has been well said that man is nature's "highest fact;" that he is not only "the interpreter of nature, he is nature's interpretation." And, certainly, since God has revealed Himself more clearly and fully in human nature and human life than in any other department of the creation, it is reasonable to suppose that less light will be gained as to man's nature and destiny by *classing* him with other works of the divine hand than by *contrasting* him with them. Nor can it but be regarded as a very suspicious circumstance that a theory vaunting so much scriptural support should be anxious to secure for itself the uncertain support of the ever-wavering oracles of physical science.

We are now arrived at that point in the discussion of the present question where it will be necessary to examine the system of scriptural interpretation adopted by the exponents of Conditional Immortality. It cannot be supposed for a moment that the different conclusions at which men arrive on vital questions in theology are always the result of patient, prayerful, unsophisticated

* Taylor's "Physical Theory of Another Life," p. 10.

study of the sacred Scriptures. Men come (it is more or less the snare of all of us) to the word of God with judgments greatly coloured and biased by the subtleties of philosophy and metaphysics; and the dim glow-worm rays of human reason never well mix with the pure light of heaven. The latter claims predominance, and never will consent to be subordinate. It will never surrender an iota of its authority to reason. When God speaks we should be silent. It is always, therefore, an immense advantage in discussions of this sort when men hold themselves and their opinions accountable to the tribunal of inspired truth. There is better chance of a settlement, at least, when both parties appeal, with equal sincerity, to "the law and the testimony" of God.

Now, it is asserted by the advocates of the soul's mortality, that the death penalty contained in the words, "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die," must have been understood by Adam to mean "entire deprivation of being." "There was no hint of its being enforced to one part of his nature only—not a hint of his being partly mortal and partly immortal; and we assert it to be utterly inconceivable if the real penalty of sin had been endless misery that not a word was said about it." *

But all this evidently proceeds on the assumption that death, in every application of the word, must mean simply and solely extinction. But what is thus quietly taken for granted is the very thing to be proved. Undoubtedly the death threatened was meant to apply to all parts of Adam's nature; but surely the soul may be spiritually dead without being extinct. Every one knows that the word "death" is frequently employed in that sense in Scripture. The body dies when the soul leaves it; that is physical death. The soul dies when the Spirit of God leaves it, and that is spiritual death. The precise meaning of the word is determined by the nature of the thing to which it is applied, just as is the meaning of the word "everlasting" as used in Scripture. If, then, there be a bodily death without the extinction of the body, and a death of the soul without its extinction, why may not there be a death eternal without extinction? There seems to us no force in the argument that there is not a hint in the narrative of man's being partly mortal and partly immortal; and that it is "utterly inconceivable if the real penalty of sin had been endless misery that not a word was said about it." The simple answer is, that it is perfectly reasonable to suppose that Adam had some knowledge of his own nature, and, therefore, would not need to be informed by special revelation as to what he was. It would be clear to him in his unfallen state that he was made in the image of the Creator, which image he would naturally conclude involved his immortality; for how otherwise indeed could he conceive himself in any lofty sense

* Report, p. 12.

to bear that noblest signature and seal of God. And if he knew himself immortal, the conclusion would then be natural and inevitable, that the spiritual part of the penalty of sin would involve eternal misery, unless he obtained deliverance from it by faith in the promise of redemption. Arguments from omissions in the narrative may be pushed to almost any length. There is only one dim and dubious hint of any provision of redemption, for instance, in the narrative; and yet there can be no doubt that that hint was sufficient, dim though it was, as a basis of saving faith. Our opponents declare their readiness to stake their whole case on the natural *prima facie* meanings of the words "life," "death," "immortality," and "destruction."* To such a proposal we at once consent; and our contention is, that these words decide nothing in favour of the ultimate extinction of sinful man's existence. "Eternal life" is opposed to "eternal death" not necessarily as continued existence is opposed to annihilation, but as endless existence with God is opposed to endless existence without God; which latter, in the nature of things, must be endless misery. The same may be said of the other pair of words. It is perfectly arbitrary to make "destruction" mean extinction of being, for the word is seldom or never so used in the common speech of men. Equally groundless is the assertion that immortality is the special result of saving faith in Christ. All civilised peoples have shared the expectation of an unending future life. It is the common heirloom of the race; and it is quite natural to conclude that there must be some reality to meet this universally implanted feeling, which manifests itself either in clear convictions or vague hopes and fears. There is a savour of impatient dogmatism in the question, "Can anything, for instance, be more ridiculously perverse than to begin by taking the phrase, 'everlasting punishment,' which is only found once in a very difficult parable, and attempting to decide the question upon that?" We reply that the phrase in question, like the other words in this controversy, was chosen by the Holy Ghost to express some clear and definite meaning; and, however difficult the parable may be considered, the passage itself in which the phrase occurs is plain enough. And it seems to us that that phrase can never be construed into harmony with the view taken by our opponents. But, perhaps, after all the real strength of this new movement in theology is not drawn from the word of God so much as from the supposed incompatibility of eternal sin and suffering with the infinite perfections of the Creator. On this part of their argument the champions of "Conditional Immortality" seem to lay the greatest stress. We are told that the "popular view works positive mischief by misrepresenting the character of God;" that it "shocks all moral sensibility, flies in the face of

* Report, p. 14.

Christian reason, libels the government of the Most High, and answers no intelligent end whatever."* It is further branded as a "foul calumny, which assists in alienating from eternal justice and love nearly the whole thinking section of mankind."† Logically, of course, all this is worthless. There is even less than a grain of argument to a bushel of sentiment. And yet there can be no doubt that it is the language of deliberate, mature, and intelligent conviction. As such we wish to regard it. We cannot afford to sneer at each other's most deep and sacred convictions. That is not the way to find the truth ourselves, if we have it not; and it is certainly not the most effectual way of leading others to accept the priceless pearl at our hands, if we have it.

There is another and stronger reason for lowliness of mind and patience in thought and moderation in language here. The question relates to the character of the Highest; it affects the sublimest, most mighty, most elevating of human thoughts—the thought of God. And he who would not "rush in where angels fear to tread" will see the necessity for quiet, reverent, and restrained thought. "Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thy heart be hasty to utter anything before God; for God is in heaven and thou upon earth, therefore let thy words be few." With this all-important caution before us we address ourselves to this part of our task. The "pith and kernel" of the objection to the orthodox doctrine of eternal punishment is, that eternal justice and love would be compromised in the unending misery of lost men. Now, so far as this objection is urged against the fatalistic doctrines of Calvinism it is perhaps valid and forcible. We never could see how the eternal damnation of men, solely on the ground of sovereign will and decree, could be made to harmonise with principles of infinite righteousness and goodness. But this objection is urged equally against the doctrine of Eternal Punishment, as held by those who maintain Arminian views of Divine sovereignty and of the freedom of the human will. It is contended that on no ground whatever can it be right and just to punish men eternally for sins committed in time. "The Judge of all the earth does *right*, but *this* would be *wrong*." Let it be understood that we are now debating the question in the light of reason alone. We ask, then, Is this assertion founded on some indubitable and eternal principle of reason? or, Is it the bold and desperate venture of human ignorance? It seems to us that to make such a statement with confidence would require a large knowledge of some of the profoundest and abstrusest problems that have ever taxed the penetration and acuteness of the human intelligence—knowledge of sin in its origin and deep nature, in its secret operations, in its disastrous and far-reaching effects on man and on the universe;

* Report, p. 24. † Report, p. 34.

knowledge of the Divine nature, of the principles and procedure of the Divine moral government, and of the exact extent of sin's offensiveness and demerit. Now, in the face of such problems, reason has had a thousand times to confess its incompetency. Although it has shown no want of daring, perseverance, or metaphysical skill in its investigations, the solution of such questions has hitherto eluded its ken, and each repeated attempt has left most of them as deeply involved in mystery as ever. What account, for instance, can reason give of the existence of evil in the universe? That it does exist cannot be denied. We are daily cognisant of its irrepressible energy and terrible effects. And yet it is certain that the facts of evil are what reason, without experience, would not have anticipated from its conceptions of the Infinite Being. One who had lived in some paradise of purity and peace and love, and had seen nothing of the real sins and suffering of human life, would very reasonably and naturally expect that all the works of a great and good Creator would be in perfect order, and every one of his creatures pure and happy like Himself. But a single day's experience in the crowded scenes of actual human life would suffice to dissipate the amiable delusion. The individual in question might be unable to discover a flaw in his previous reasoning; he might see no cause to doubt the accuracy of his conclusion. Still, it would be manifest folly to quarrel with indisputable facts; and as he would find it impossible to reconcile his conclusion with such facts, he would naturally be led to question his own ability to deal with the subject at all. He would see, at least, that on such a question there was no ground for dogmatic confidence.

Now, with respect to the question whether eternal evil, in the shape of sin and suffering, be compatible with the infinite goodness of the Creator, it is safe to assume that the same reasons which are applicable to the strife and confusion of time apply with equal force to the question of eternal strife. If evil may exist in the creation and dominions of Infinite Power and Goodness now, we cannot assume the impossibility of eternal evil, nor assume that the one is more consistent with the nature and perfections of God than the other.

We see how deepening depravity and increasing wretchedness go together in this world. Sin, unresisted, darkens, debases, and contracts the soul. Its effects are seen in the growth of vicious habits, in the loss of self-restraint, in the deterioration of the dispositions and character. In the depth of the moral being, where originates the life of thought and feeling, and where the principles of knowledge have their foundation—there, deep down in the unseen nature of the soul, moral conduct produces its silent and slow but sure effects; there men sow the seed and reap

the bitter harvest of transgression; there they "treasure up unto themselves wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God." The thought is intensely solemn; men sin from day to day, and seem to fear no consequences; but the eternal God sleeps not. His laws are ever working out, without failure or intermission, the fatal results of sin. Can we assume that this degenerating process, and its fearful results, continued beyond the limits of human probation, will ever terminate? Is there not in every man a secret conviction, more or less distinct and clear, that the soul, once born into the realm of moral law, cannot escape from it; cannot perish from under its sway by annihilation; that eternal blessedness is the necessary result of obedience, eternal misery the result of lawlessness and rebellion? And is it not a fact that, with these instinctive hopes and fears of mankind, the voice of inspiration has ever been thought to harmonise? Once more, does it not seem a far greater impeachment of the divine wisdom to represent God as preventing the eternal consequences of man's free but perverted will by stamping it out than it is an impeachment of His infinite goodness to represent Him as causing men to meet the necessary consequences of their own wilfulness, and thus "eat of the fruit of their own ways"? Retribution does not follow transgression, either in this world or the next, by arbitrary appointment. God acts through unerring laws of nature, and those laws are grounded on eternal reasons, which it is beyond our power to investigate. Every sinful deed, word, or thought has its judicial effect upon the soul. The happiness of well-doing and the misery of wrong-doing are as inseparable from the power of action as, in all human agency, motive is inseparable from the act of will. The soul's moral character and eternal destiny are closely and inseparably linked: "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap."

Before concluding this paper one other point calls for remark. The advocates of the new view of man's destiny speak with unbounded confidence as to the elevating moral influence of their teaching, both on the minds of Christians and mankind generally. "But the grand, the chief, the all-important point is, the deliverance of our Father's character from the dismal cloud which has rested on it for ages, causing men to turn away from Him in terror, instead of coming with their sins and sorrows to His feet in the name of the Redeemer, and looking up into His face with gratitude, and trust, and joy, whilst their lips utter the inimitably beautiful and blessed words, 'Our Father which art in heaven.'"* "Intelligent and educated Hindoo merchants and magistrates" are made to say to the missionaries who have eliminated the "terrific penalty" from their message, "We will listen to your Christian

* Report, p. 25.

doctrine *now*, for it is worthy of the God whom you serve; but, if an eternal hell of torments is the fate of the unbeliever, we prefer our own religion."* Now, it might be very naturally concluded from the tenor of the passages we have quoted that the exponents of the new theory rejected the doctrine of penalty altogether, and represented God as a being of simple benevolence. But such is not the case. On the contrary, they insist on the necessity of a "credible and operative doctrine of 'Judgment to come' upon all mankind."† Even while rejecting the doctrine of eternal retribution, they confess that "As to the nature, duration, and severity of the suffering which will have been undergone by the finally impenitent before the last moment of their existence, and as to the means by which and the circumstances under which they will be put out of existence, we know very little indeed." "What it would or would not be right for this or that person to suffer within the limits that revelation renders possible we cannot tell."‡ It will no doubt appear surprising to most thoughtful minds that a theory that pretends to grapple with some of the most difficult problems relating to the Divine character and government, and to make the Word of God a harmonious and consistent system of revealed truth, should have so many difficulties of its own to confess. We should like to know, however, wherein lies the advantage of the new view as regards its moral influence on mankind. It, in common with the orthodox doctrine of future retribution, has its "Judgment to come," "its terrors of the Lord," its "second death" to proclaim. In either case the motive of human fear is appealed to. In either case "God" to the impenitent "is a consuming fire." In either case it is a calamity unspeakable to be lost. "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." What, then, is gained by reducing the penalty of the obstinate transgressor? If motives of fear are a hindrance to the success of the Gospel, why not abandon the idea of penalty for transgression altogether? But, if fear is legitimate and useful as a religious motive in any degree, who shall say what precise idea of the soul's future fate is fitted to awaken that salutary emotion in its just amount.

The gravest objection however to the argument by which it is attempted to defend the new doctrine of man's future destiny remains to be noticed. We consider it, in the highest degree, misleading, mischievous, and unfair to represent the orthodox doctrine of future retribution as "causing men to turn away from God in terror, instead of coming with their sins and sorrows to His feet." It is putting into the mouths of the wilful and obstinate a false and insincere excuse. The Scriptures ascribe the cause of human estrangement and alienation from God to wilful

* Report, p. 24. † Report, p. 35. ‡ Report, p. 16.

blindness, unbelief, and sin. Nor can any thoughtful and unprejudiced mind doubt that such is really the case. Nothing but evil, therefore, can result from this lame attempt to damage and discredit the doctrine of eternal punishment by throwing upon it the responsibility of "alienating myriads from the entire Christian system."* We have reason to believe that in all the evangelical pulpits of Christendom the God of the Gospel is represented, not as a "cruel, malignant, and vindictive" being, as the advocates of Conditional Immortality unfairly insinuate, but as one in whom an infinite and unsurpassable love and a stainless and unbending justice harmoniously blend—as a gracious and merciful God, whom to know and to enjoy is eternal life and happiness—but whom to resist and deny is everlasting death and misery. Nor can it be denied that this view of the Divine character has been to a very large extent "operative" and fruitful for good in its influence on mankind. It has kindled the loftiest sentiments of benevolence and pity towards the perishing thousands of mankind in many Christian hearts, and has generated strong and active impulses of zeal for their rescue and moral improvement. As far as we can see, the doctrine of the ultimate annihilation of the wicked would have the contrary effect. It would tend to lessen Christian sympathy towards those who are "without God and without hope in the world." It would inevitably cripple Christian activity and enterprise at home, and "check and hamper" the work of God on the mission field. And there is little reason to doubt that thus the deadly evils of languor, supineness, and apathy in the Church would be increased tenfold. Indeed, signs already appear which, we fear, abundantly warrant this surmise. In the "Report," to which we have so frequently referred in this paper, the Rev. S. Minton is made to say: "We know that the doctrine of Conditional Immortality has brought unspeakable relief and comfort to thousands of our fellow-Christians."† We should very much like to know in what way. If it has so relieved them as to relax their efforts for the salvation of the lost, it is a questionable benefit. And even though such an unfortunate result should not follow, yet it must appear a most unworthy display of the worst kind of selfishness when Christian men think mainly of their own "relief and comfort" in estimating the value of a theory that renders the happiness of others none the surer, and, it may be, to say the very least, their misery none the less. For our own part, we are convinced that the true secret of personal peace and satisfaction, in face of the terrible facts of human sin, impenitence, and perdition, is not to be found in any particular "view," "theory," or speculation on the nature or destiny of man, but rather in hard, faithful, self-denying work, done in prayerful de-

* Report, p. 23. † Report, p. 16.

pendence on the divine help and guidance. Inactive contemplation of the present moral condition and future prospects of the unbelieving masses of mankind is only fitted to fill the mind with depression and sadness. Light and peace come by unremitting devotion to Christian work. Thus would the Lord have us use the daylight of our life. We hesitate not to say that the requirements of the world, in its darkness, and sin, and misery, will never be met by those who are intensely and absorbingly concerned about their own "relief and comfort." We are afraid that this form of selfishness is the crying sin of half the Christian churches in the land. What is wanted is, men and women who, with heroic self-abandonment, will go forth to the "waste places" of human life, which, as St. Augustine says, are "fertile only in sorrow," and show men the path of a nobler life by teaching them the blessed secret of saving faith in a holy, gracious, and benignant God.

ART. IV.—ATHENAGORAS'S APOLOGY FOR THE CHRISTIANS.

Translated by JABEZ COLE.

(*Concluded from page* 89.)

XII.

AND what! Think you, then, that we should thus cultivate innocence and purity of heart if we were not persuaded that a God is witness of all our actions? No, doubtless; but because we are convinced that we shall have to render account of all our works to God who has created us—we and the world—we have chosen a course of life held in contempt by the multitude, yet full of humanity and of moderation. We fear nothing upon the earth, not even death itself, persuaded as we are that nothing can be compared to the good things we shall receive in heaven from the hand of the Sovereign Judge in recompense for a life of wisdom and of virtue exercised no less for the good of others than with the view to our own salvation. Plato pretends that Minos and Rhadamanthus will judge and punish the wicked. We say that this Minos and this Rhadamanthus, and even their fathers, if they ever had any, will themselves be judged, for all must appear before the judgment-seat of God. What! are men to be regarded as virtuous whose maxim is, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die"—men who see nothing beyond the grave, and believe death to be a profound sleep, an eternal oblivion; thereby endorsing the sentiment of a poet, who says that sleep and death

are twins, the latter to be as little feared as his elder brother? And are we, who deny ourselves of all ungodliness and worldly lusts, living daily in the fear of God and for the good of man, to be accounted as impious and not fit to live? . . . . . Our religion gives us happiness of soul, no less than fortitude of mind and the martyr's spirit. Those who taste of the honey or of the milk set before them can judge of the quality of the whole from the flavour of the part partaken of. The day-star in the Christian's heart is also the day-star of the Christian's heaven. That day-star is Jesus Christ, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, as says an inspired apostle.

XIII.—The immense majority of those who accuse us of atheism have not the slightest knowledge of God, measuring their piety by the number of victims they sacrifice, and making it a crime in us not to recognise the gods which your cities adore. Why do we Christians abstain from immolating victims? Because the great Father who has made all things has no need of blood and of smoke, any more than he has need of flowers or of perfumes. It is the sacrifice of a broken and contrite spirit that he requires, It is love in the heart and virtue in the life that are acceptable to him. Why, then, present to God holocausts of which he has no need? He demands no bleeding victim, but an enlightened and reasonable worship. One even of your own poets has said, "It is neither victims, nor touching prayers; it is neither libations, nor the smoke of sacrifices, which can appease the gods, if one has transgressed the law, if one has sinned. No, not these, but repentance and obedience."

XIV.—We are reproached by our enemies for not frequenting their temples and worshiping their gods. But is not such reproach most unreasonable? seeing that those who heap it upon us are at variance among themselves about the very deities to be worshiped. Thus, Athens worships Celenus and Metanira; whilst Macedon acknowledges Menelano, offering to him sacrifices, and consecrating feast-days to his honour, although the people of Troy never hear his name but with horror, and prefer to celebrate the memory of Hector. The island of Scio renders divine honours to Aristeus, whom it regards as Jupiter or Apollo. Thasos reveres Theagenes, who, however, had soiled his character by a murder at the Olympic games. Samos honours Lysander, notwithstanding his murders and his crimes. Hesiod and Alcman deify Medea; the Cilicians Niolea; the Selicians Phillipus, son of Butacidus; the inhabitants of Amathontes Onesilas; the Carthaginians Amilcar. But what am I saying? a whole day would not suffice me to name all these gods. Since our enemies cannot agree among themselves touching their divinities, why do they make it a crime in us not to accept their religious beliefs? What do we see in

Egypt? Surely that country has attained the very summit of the absurd and ridiculous, notwithstanding its boasted "wisdom." In their temples—into which the multitude press—those Egyptians smite upon the breast, because their god is dead, and at his death they offer sacrifices as to a deity. But why be astonished when we know that they elevate brute beasts to the rank of Divinity; and that at the death of these sacred animals they shave their heads, burying the dead creatures in their temples, and prescribing for them public mourning? If, then, we Christians are impious because we do not worship your gods, all the cities, all the nations are impious too, for none of them worship the same divinities, each community adoring the special god or gods itself has made!

XV.—But, should all the peoples adore the same God, what then? Do not the majority confound God with matter, addressing their prayers to vain images? No matter who is the god, it is an idol which is worshiped; such being the proclivity of degenerate and unenlightened human minds for the purely sensuous and superstitious even in religious matters. If God and matter are but one and the same thing, designated under two different names, then it is evident that we Christians are impious and atheistic in not bowing down to wood, to stone, to silver, and to gold. But if, on the contrary, as we believe, God is a spirit, and therefore, not matter, nor divisible into "gods many," but essentially and immutably *one*, why should we be held at hand and persecuted as abominable infidels for simply worshiping *Him?* Who does not see that matter is, relatively to God, precisely what the clay is in regard to the potter? The clay is the *materiàl*, the potter is the worker and fashioner. This is the teaching of common sense, and whatever opposes it is not philosophy, but wildest sophistry. Besides, is it not the doctrine of our greatest teachers, such as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and Cicero? men whom your Majesties hold in the highest veneration, and whose sentiment in this particular is your Majesties' own. Materialism and Atheism are convertible terms, whilst between a Democritus and a Protagoras there is no difference, unless there may be said to be one of degree of insanity as regards their respective systems of anti-theistic, and, therefore, anti-rational philosophy. As a rule all the philosophers believe in one Supreme Being; they being the poets and the priests who lay sacrilegious hands on His unity, and re-fashion Him into that many-headed hydra of idolatry which the world worshipeth. To make as many gods as there are different forms of matter is to confound the Supreme Being, incorruptible and eternal, with a created and perishable materialism.

XVI.—This universe, without doubt, is an admirable system, calling forth our wonder and our gratitude, whether we consider

its magnitude which embraces all things, its disposition of parts as seen in the distribution of the stars of the zodiac, and of the planets which roll around the pole, or in its spherical form; yet it is not the universe we ought to adore, but its author. When your subjects, Great Princes, gain access to you for the purpose of asking favours at your hands, they do not begin to occupy themselves with contemplating the magnificence of your palace, before they have saluted its masters, whose succour they have come to implore; no, they content themselves with casting a *coup d' œil*, in passing, upon the royal mansion; they admire its rich ornaments, whilst they render to you yourselves all sorts of honours. I may here just make the remark that, between God's universe and your palace there is this difference:—You build and decorate your house for your own use, whereas the Almighty has created His world for other good than His own, He having no need of anything out of Himself to minister unto Him, or to augment His happiness. For He is Himself an all-things, light inaccessible, world-perfect, spirit, power and reason. I ask not of matter that which it does not possess; I abandon not God to worship the elements, the power of which extends not beyond the limits originally assigned to them. How great soever their beauty and their potencies, communicated to them by their author, still they fundamentally and wholly are only matter. Plato, also, expresses himself to the same effect. He says, "This essence called the heavens and the world has received many wonderful properties and potencies from its Creator; nevertheless, consisting merely of matter and matter's laws, it is but a *thing*, and a very changeable and slippery one too."

If, then, though admiring the beauty of the heavens, and the elements of nature, I cannot think of adoring them as gods, seeing that I know them to be subject to the laws of change and dissolution, how could I bring myself to worship vain idols, which I know to be the work of mens' hands? To the following section of my address I beg your Majesties' particular attention.

XVII.—It is of importance to my cause to clearly prove that the names of your gods are yet recent, and that their statues only date, so to speak, from yesterday. This you yourselves know quite well—you who know the ancient authors as well, or even better, than any of the savants. I say, then, that it is Orpheus, Hesiod, and Homer who have given to those beings which are called gods their names and their genealogies. Herodotus himself avows it: "I think," says he, "that Hesiod and Homer have preceded me some four centuries at most; and these it is who have taught to the Greeks the origin of their gods, who have given to those gods their names, assigned to them their ranks, designated the arts over which they severally preside, determined their forms, and prescribed for each his special figure and features."

As for the statues, they were entirely unknown so long as painting, sculpture, and bas-relief were not as yet elevated to the rank of arts; in fact, until Saurius of Samos, Crato of Sicyon, and Corea of Corinth had made their appearance. In fact, the epoch of the first apparition of images and simulacra is so near to our own times that we can actually point out the author of each god. (Here follows a long list of the names of artists and of their several creations in the forms of deities.) In a word, there is not one of those simulacra which has not been made by the hand of man. If they are gods, as the people think, why were they not such from the beginning? Why are they posterior to their authors? Why had they need of human hands and human heart to bestow upon them their very existence? They are stone and clay—they are matter artistically worked, and, they are nothing more. (Such conclusions are matters of course to us, but they were not such to the pagans of Athenagoras's day. Readers of early Apologies should remember this.)

XVIII.—No doubt there are individuals who say that these images are not the gods themselves—but merely their representations. It is impossible to see a god without a veil, they say. Now it is universally acknowledged that these gods commenced to be, each of them being born as we ourselves are. Upon this point all the points are unanimous. Homer has expressed it in these words:—"The Ocean is the father of the gods, and the earth is the mother." Orpheus was the first to give them their names, and to relate their births and their exploits. He is also regarded as being the most faithful interpreter of divine things. Homer himself has followed and imitated him in many places, especially in matters relating to the gods. Now, this same Orpheus, like Homer after him, gets all his divinities from Water. "The Ocean," says he, "is the father of all the gods." (Here follows a long account of the procreation of the chief deities, which procreation is so absurd as to have neither rhyme nor reason in it. One greatly wonders at this day how such a genesis could possibly be accepted as representing anything but poetic fables and old wives' nursery stories.)

XIX.—Such was the origin of these pretended divinities. What is the conclusion from it? It is that these gods are no gods at all. If created, then they are corruptible and subject to death. Uncreated being alone is eternal. This principle is admitted by your philosophers. "It is necessary to distinguish," says Plato, "between being created and being eternal, only that which is increate has essential perpetuity of existence." This same philosopher, speaking of the things which are perceived by the mind, and of those which are perceived by the senses, teaches that which is, and can only be, perceived by the mind has not been created; and that, on the contrary, sensible things which cannot exist by themselves

have all been created, saying that they have a beginning and also an end. For the same reason the Stoics hold that the visible universe will one day become the prey of fire; thus ceasing to continue any longer in its present form in order that it may exist under new and higher conditions. Can our idolators tell us,—what will then become of their gods? What can they answer other than that these precious beings, having come by water, will, in the long run have to go by fire.

XX.—Sometimes they give to their gods strange forms and figures. The god Hercules they represent as a dragon. Those giants they call Titans are made to have each a hundred arms. The daughter that Jupiter had by Rhea, or Ceres, had, besides her natural eyes, two others in her forehead, with a sort of beak on the back of the neck, and horns on the head, so that her mother, terrified at the little monster, fled clean away, and never returned to give her offspring the breast. Sometimes they pompously describe what they call the great feats of their gods. Saturn, for example, mutilates his own father, and devours all his male children. Jupiter precipitates his father into Tartarus, bound in irons. Into this infernal region Uranus also precipitated his children. It would fail me to tell of all the bad actions—as adultery, theft, murder, rape, &c., of these divine personages, from Jupiter downwards. Shall we offer our homage to such gods as these? Shall we bow down to deities who were born no otherwise than the brute beasts? Shall we pray to divinities in the form of monsters? In a word, shall we imitate in our conduct the actions of beings guilty of every immorality, and stained, some of them, with crimes too monstrous and disgusting for even the wickedest of men to commit?

XXI.—It would appear that these gods, like us mortals, have flesh and blood and reproductive powers; they have also our passions. How often does their anger burn, and how monstrous is their lust! Do such things as these belong to Divinity? and would your Majesties yourselves be contented to abandon your high virtues and descend to the moral level of the gods? Is not the Lord of heaven and of earth a holy God? and has He not written His laws on the tablet of the heart as well as elsewhere? All that He has presented to us in the book of Nature, and in the book of Revelation, is persuasive to virtue, and condemnatory of idols and their debasing worship. Listen to an inspired Apostle, writing to the Romans themselves. His words are these:—"For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men who hold the truth in unrighteousness; because that which may be known of God is manifest in them. For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are

made, even his eternal power and Godhead, so that they are without excuse; because that when they knew God they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves wise they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like corruptible man, and birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore God gave them up to uncleanness. For they changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshiped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen." Your Majesties, who are not only philosophers but virtuous and truth-seeking men, will at once see the truthfulness of this picture; and yet, will such noble characters permit that we Christians should be persecuted and prosecuted past all endurance because we will not turn away from God to worship the gods? I know your high intelligence and your better heart will answer, No. If you, yourselves, were about to die, would you seek unto Jupiter for succour or unto God? And would you like to be conducted to heaven by the dragon-demon Hercules, or by the "ministering spirits" of the Lord of Hosts? I fear the former would take you to the wrong place, which would be his "own place."

XXII.—I know quite well how the defenders of the gods-system speak in justification of idolatry. Mythology, they say, has its basis on allegory. Empedocles so explains it. Jupiter, he says, represents the activity of fire, Juno and Pluto the vital principle, and the tears of Nessus the water of springs. Very well. Let Jupiter be the fire, Juno the earth, Pluto the air, and Nessus the water of nature; but all *that* constitutes the elements, not Divinity. I admit, therefore, the divinity neither of Jupiter, nor Juno, nor Pluto, for they derive their existence from the matter which God himself had created. Hear Empedocles again:—"The fire, the water, the earth (soil), and the air—these are the beneficent elements which a divine principle of unity and friendship binds together. Yes, this union is so necessary to them that were it to be broken for a moment the elements would rush back again into chaos, and ancient night would resume her throne upon the ruins of a dissolved universe." Where would the gods be then? Then why call the elements of nature the divinities which men ought to worship? The thing is absurd and ridiculous. Idolatry is nature-worship. But is nature divine? I thought nature was a machine—a system of means contrived and adapted to bring about ends; and I thought that a machine required an intelligent mechanist to conceive, to construct, and to set it a-going. It is the machine that is worshiped—not the Wise and Good Being who made the machine! The machine is taken to pieces. One wheel is called Jupiter, another Juno, and so on. Alas! that the works of God

should be taken for God Himself! A fool says in his heart there is no God; and a still greater fool says that Nature is God. Saturn is time, they say. He is inconstant, variable; he murders his children, and carries about with him a scythe which he never allows to rest. But *God* inhabits eternity—God is immutable and immortal. God is the father of spirits, not the destroyer of His children. God is not Saturn; and neither Saturn nor his statue is a god. They call the fruit of the vine Bacchus. A merry god this! but I will not worship him. Bacchus likes drink—a fine god! Bacchus is a drunkard, and his orgies are full to overflowing of all kinds of wickedness, therefore I will keep aloof from his godship. Bacchus is a thief, for he steals away both the senses and the sense of his votaries. No, I will have nothing to do with Bacchus. He is, perhaps, the most popular god in Rome—yet I cannot worship him. My religion enjoins temperance, sobriety, chastity. The God whom Christians worship has said that all drunkards shall have their portion in hell-fire. "The pure in heart shall see God." But is it not the most impure in heart that most see Bacchus? Your Majesties know that I hit the nail; and I know that at the bottom of your hearts you despise both the bibulous god and his mad bacchanalians.

XXIII.—Your Majesties will, no doubt, ask why these simulacra, if they are not gods, can operate certain prodigies? for it is not possible, you will say, that statues without life and destitute of motion could do anything of themselves and without a mover. It is true certain persons relate that in such and such a place, that in this village and in that nation, those gods have performed I know not what wonderful things. Now, we have examined this matter with care, and think we can answer satisfactorily the query, Whence comes the potency accorded to those images? There are beings, we believe, whom Providence permits to deceive such as like to be deceived, and to lie to such as are disposed to believe lies. There is one who is a liar from the beginning. A potent magician he! and prince of the powers of darkness; he and his large following of wicked spirits, of whatever kind, are continually going to and fro on the earth, seeking whom they may delude, and seeking to the utmost to cause anarchy and misery in the moral department of the divine government of the world. Before I point out the particular species of evil spirits to which those image-thaumaturgists or idol inspirers belong, permit me to cite some authorities from philosophy herself. Thales admits the existence of three orders of supersensible beings—namely, a god, demons, and heroes. This god, he thinks, is the soul of the world; the demons, he says, are beings purely spiritual; and the heroes he holds to be the souls of deceased men, some of these being good and others bad, according, of course, to their worst quality, inherent or superin-

duced. Plato says nothing about heroes, but he admits a self-existent Deity; stars, fixed or wandering, created by the Eternal to ornament the heavens and influence the destinies of men and their world, and also demons. Of the origination of demons Plato confesses himself unable to speak in any other than the most imaginative and speculative manner.

XXIV.—If the philosophers and the poets had not believed in one only God, they would not abase as they do the other so-called gods by calling them demons, elements of nature, or souls of men. Thus, your gods, being no gods, according to your own authorities, where is the reason or the morality that can justify your persecution of us Christians for not bowing down to their images and acknowledging them to be what we know they are not? No doubt the priests appear to revere these non-entities; but then they are well paid for doing so—it is their trade, and can men be expected to turn their backs upon their means of livelihood? Be the gods what they may, or what they may not, they are at all events this—namely, the vested interests of the priests! No wonder that those priests are so red in the face against us who believe neither in them nor in their vested interests. But the State also defends the gods. Very true; and the reason of this is not far to seek. The gods help the State to frighten the *canaille* (slaves) into obedience, and to make the people generally quiet citizens. I speak in strong language, but your Majesties are philosophers, and know that I have reason and truth on my side. I use no circumlocution, because my course is straight and my cause just; and, moreover, I know that the idiosyncrasies of your own noble minds incline you to love the honest and outspoken in all communications directed to your imperial selves. Such is the opinion of the Roman empire; and throughout the length and breadth of that so mighty dominion I pray God the glorious news may soon run that your Majesties have added another laurel to your accumulated honours in having done justice to the Christians.

XXV.—[In this section our apologist speaks of the fall of the angels, and presents to the Emperors the views which the Christians held as regards the part which good angels on the one hand, and bad ones on the other, play in the ongoings of the moral world. Nay, he shows that these invisible beings have power over matter, and can, to a permitted extent, manipulate the physical laws. A bad angel is allowed by the Almighty to afflict Job; and a good angel is divinely sent to instruct Daniel, &c. At any rate he has the Scriptures, both old and new, wholly on his side; and the world has yet to learn that Sceptical Philosophy is wiser than the Bible. A wise man dare still say that he will back the Word of God as against the word of men in regard to *any* matter about

which the former gives a certain sound. In this section the prince of the bad angels is represented as saying that he knows the art of lying to perfection. We always lie, he says, in a manner the most truth-seeming; thus, our lies being so *like* truth, we cannot detect them.]

XXVI.—Would you know what it is that draws men to the feet of the idols, and what it was that drew them to the oracles? The evil power of the demons or fallen angels. By means of them came the prodigies. These wonder-workers are the "unclean spirits"—"the spirits of devils working miracles," as declares the Book of God. A poet says, "Where the demons wish men to do unwise and disastrous things they first act upon the reason, changing its normal course, and inflaming the imagination by suggesting insane thoughts and deceptive images."

[Then he goes on to speak at large of demon-miracles, and of the oracles, having no doubt of their demon-inspiration. He instances cases. In fact the whole section heaves with supernatural power displayed at the shrine of the gods, and surges in "a wind of prophecy," blowing from the oracles. Such was the universal belief of Christians during the first centuries of our era. This matter, like every other, has two sides. Heaven and earth, no doubt, contain many things undreamt of in our own philosophy, especially when it is of the materialistic type. Fontenelle admits this, and yet he will have it that the "Oracles were a trick and artifice of the heathen priests." Unlike Athenagoras, Fontenelle had seen too many winking Virgins and bleeding Janariuses to be easily beguiled into a belief in demon-power and oracle-inspiration. His "History of Oracles" is now before me, and the following paragraphs are worthy of attention. Modern spiritualism would not receive much grace at the hands of the old Academician, any more than did the Ancient. "As for the Oracles," he says, "their first establishment is not more difficult to account for than that of the deities: find me but half-a-dozen persons whom I can persuade that day-light is not owing to the sun, and I will not despair of whole nations embracing the same opinion; for, be an hypothesis ever so ridiculous, and it be but maintained for some time, it gains the character of antiquity, and is then sufficiently proved. There was on the top of Parnassus a hole, out of which issued an exhalation which made goats dance, and got up into the head. Perhaps somebody, whose head was turned with it, fell a talking, without knowing what he said, and spoke some truth. Immediately there must be something divine fancied to be in this exhalation, and that it contained the knowlege of futurity; then they began to approach this hole with veneration, and, little by little, ceremonies are introduced. Thus, in all probability, rose the Oracle of Delphos. And as it owed its origin to an exhalation which affected the head, the

Pythian priestess could not help being in a fury of prophesying, though in most of the other Oracles fury was not necessary. Let an oracle be once established, and you may guess a thousand will follow the example; for, if the gods can speak in one place, why should they not do so as well in others? The people struck with the marvellousness of the thing, and impatient for the profit they expect from it, desire nothing more than to see oracles set up everywhere, and, in time, all these Oracles get the character of being ancient, which stands them in great stead. The new ones had no such success since they were established by princes, whereas the people are more inclined to believe in what they make themselves." And he might have added, what the priests make for them. The priests have always been more powerful than the princes in this superstitious world, which Hume not inaptly calls the madhouse of the universe.]

XXVII.—Our detractors reproach us with establishing voluptuous feasts, and debasing ourselves at monstrous orgies. They do this to legitimise their hatred towards us in their own eyes; or, perhaps they hope thereby to frighten us into abandonment of our faith. Nay, is not the true reason to be found in their desire to draw down upon us the inexorable rigours of the Emperors, and sweep us either clean out of our Christianity, or clean out of existence? But their efforts are in vain. We do not fear torture, and as for death, we regard that as the greatest gain. We lean not upon demons for support in extremities; they have plenty to do to help themselves; our trust is in God, in whom the devils believe and tremble. This rôle of our enemies is an old one, as old as the hate of vice against virtue, as old as the antagonism of superstition to pure and simple religion. Pythagoras was committed to the flames along with three hundred other philosophers; Democritus was banished away from Ephesus; Heroclitus was treated as mad; and Socrates was condemned to death. Like gods like priests. And what the bloodthirsty demons and their human ministers require, the deluded and ignorant people are sure to give them. The gods, the priests, the populace—these three; but the priests, acting for the gods, are our greatest adversaries, instigating the people against us, hoping to see a speedy end made both of us and our religion. But truth is greater than error. God is stronger than the gods. Thus, in the long-run Idolatry will fall, and Christianity will be established on the ruins thereof. May your gracious Majesties live to see that day, and, pardon me for adding, —help to bring it about! All that philosophers who are good men require in regard to our case is a proper knowledge of our character on the one hand, and a proper acquaintance with our religion on the other. Your Majesties are misinformed and misguided by those whose interest it is to see superstition flourish,

and to have the old *status quo* maintained in all its ignominious glory.

XXVIII.—See the inconsistency of our enemies. They impute to us the very crimes attributed to the gods, whose passions and abominable doings they celebrate under the name of *Mysteries*. But, since they reprove so bitterly imagined incestuous unions among us, formed in the shade and incidentally, they ought, at all events, first to show their aversion towards Jupiter, who had children both by Rhea, his mother, and Proserpine, his daughter, and who married his own sister. Neither should they spare Orpheus, the inventor of these turpitudes, and who represents Jupiter as being even more infamous than Thyestes himself. This latter violated his own daughter, a baseness he was instigated to commit in obedience to an oracle which assured him that this was the only means whereby he could at once avenge himself and retain his kingdom. Behold your gods and your oracles! These monstrous cases are but specimens, which, as your Majesties well know, could be augmented to an indefinite extent. What must be the character of general morality, not to speak of men's religious condition, under the *regime* of such gods, and of such public institutions as these? If some few individuals among you, imitating the moral virtue and the spiritual-mindedness of their Royal Masters, are to be found leading pure and religious lives, it is not because, but in spite, of the example set by the gods; nay, by the very father of them—great Jove himself.

As for us, we are so far removed from such vile affections and practices that it is not even permitted to us to look upon a woman under the influence of a bad desire; our Divine Master having told us that the man who so looks upon her "hath already committed adultery in his heart." How, then, could we be incestuous and adulterous, we who believe ourselves responsible before God, not only for our outward actions, but for our inward thoughts, and in whom even a lascivious look is an adultery, seeing that both the eyes and the imagination have been made for other and purer purposes? It is God's law, great Princes, no less than human laws, which we set always before us, and whereby we regulate our duties towards both ourselves and our neighbours. The Divine law of the Book, and the Divine law of the Conscience, with equal authority command us "to live as seeing the Invisible"; that is, as if we actually saw "the Eye that seeth in secret," and is "too pure to regard sin," looking upon us and "spying out all our ways." "Thou God seest us" is a Divine sentence, which we not only hang up in our "chamber of imagery," but many of us even in our houses. No, your Majesties, we are not incestuous and adulterous, neither are we guilty of the vilest of vilenesses, the sin of Sodom, which, it is to be feared, will rise up in judgment against too many

of those who are too eagerly employed in seeking occasion and suborning men to condemn us, to examine their own hearts, to look into their own reminiscences, and to repent of their own deeds, which are too vile to be named in the light of day. We Christians have no *Mysteries of the gods*, our "mystery of Godliness" being simply "God manifest in the flesh," a doctrine which we have as an anchor of the soul, holding us aloof from vile affections, and mooring us on to that which is pure and peaceable, nay, to that which is "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost," the very essence of our religion and antepast of our heaven. One word more, your Majesties, on the matter in question. We pray God to be delivered from the spirit of the gods, whose licentious deeds we abominate, and to be divinely strengthened in circumstances and states of temptation to follow the example of a great and good man mentioned in our Holy Books, who, fleeing from the presence of seduction, and leaving his garment in the hand of the seductress, exclaimed "How can I do this great wickedness and sin against God."

XXIX.—Behold, then, our life and our principles.

What says the proverb?—*The courtezan accuses the virtuous woman.*

Art. V.—MR. TENNYSON'S "HAROLD." *

A SECOND drama by Mr. Tennyson—an English historical drama again—in which the poet has revivified for us the chief actors in a most momentous crisis of the history of our country. There is, perhaps, no period of English history more capable of dramatic treatment than that which marks the fall of the last of our Saxon kings, and the conquest of the land by William of Normandy. It was a period of struggle in which the most important national issues were involved. The leading characters who figured in the crisis were men of heroic mould. The great personal qualities of Harold and his compatriots, animated, as they were, by intense devotion to their country's weal, striving nobly to weld into unity of national life diverse political forces and jarring elements of race, obstructed by mean plotting ambition at home, menaced by invasion from abroad, and overwhelmed at last by the relentless force of destiny, present an imposing picture to the imagination and a fine field for the historical dramatist. Unlike *Queen Mary*, which dealt with the period of the Ultramontane experiment in

* "Harold." A Drama. By Alfred Tennyson. Henry S. King & Co., London, 1877.

English history, and was occupied mainly with the portraiture of conflicting forms of religious fanaticism,—a circumstance which rendered its chief characters repellant rather than attractive,—Mr. Tennyson's present drama deals with a period of our history in which our sympathies are naturally enlisted on behalf of the brave and patriotic men who fell fighting for their country on Senlac Hill. Each of the two periods has its special features of historical interest, and the difference between the periods is distinctly reflected in the two dramas, giving to each what appears to us its distinctive character and interest. The interest in *Queen Mary* hinged upon the poet's analysis and portraiture of morbid passion. In *Harold* patriotism is the central idea and chief principle of action. Not that patriotism was absent from the earlier drama, but it was dominated by religious passion; not that religious passion is absent from the later work, but it is rendered subordinate to the dramatic presentation of patriotic devotion. The relative merits of the two dramas will be differently estimated by different persons according to their mental character and taste. To those who are attracted by a portraiture of the inner workings of the mind *Queen Mary* will appear superior; while *Harold* will be the favourite of those who are fonder of heroic character and external historic action. But the mere circumstance that the leading characters in one drama attract our sympathies, while those in another repel us, is no true test of the relative merits of the two works. The test of artistic value lies rather in the power a work possesses of impressing the imagination and moving the deeper emotions of the heart, without regard to the pleasurable or painful character of those emotions. Judged by this test, *Harold* appears to us scarcely equal in power to *Queen Mary*.

On the appearance of *Queen Mary* Mr. Tennyson was rather severely criticised for having made it too much a metaphysical study, and for having expended his strength more on the analysis of character than on external action, which is the primary essential of the drama. In *Harold* he has gone in the opposite direction. Rapid movement and vigorous action, sustained from beginning to end, gives its chief characteristic to the play. The poet shows great skill in the distinct and vivid grouping of the scenes, as well as in the manner in which he controls the movement of the general action, so as to give enhanced effect to the tragic grandeur and pathos of its close, the shadow of which is felt to be on the whole play from its opening scene. But though it may be allowed that *Harold* comes more fully up to the recognised rules of dramatic composition than did the former work; yet it does not leave the same powerful impression on the mind that was produced by our poet's subtle study of the dark broodings and fanatical ravings of

the gloomy Tudor queen. The reason for this is probably to be sought, not so much in the difference between the subjects treated upon, as in the character of the Laureate's genius itself, which has about it somewhat of a mystic and analytic tendency. He is predominantly attracted by what is inward; and we only feel the full force of his power when he concentrates his imagination on the struggle of a mind entangled in the meshes of some speculative or moral problem. Indeed, with all the glow and vigour of action to be found in *Harold*, the most striking passages it contains are to be traced to this peculiar bent of the Laureate's genius.

Harold is dedicated to Lord Lytton, and Mr. Tennyson says in the dedication:—"After the old-world records—such as the Bayeux Tapestry and the Roman de Rou,—Edward Freeman's History of the Norman Conquest, and your father's Historical Romance treating of the same times, have been chiefly helpful to me in writing this drama." These being our author's authorities, he has evidently studied them with much minuteness, and he follows them closely in his own work. The magnificent historical romance of Sir E. Bulwer Lytton is constructed on the same principle as that adopted by Mr. Tennyson. On this principle historic truth is made fundamental, and, so far as ascertainable, is rigorously adhered to; the poet's genius being used only to resuscitate and clothe it with the attributes of interest attaching to real life. Thus the interest of the story is made to depend, not upon ideal characters or artificially constructed plot, but upon what is conceived as the essence of history itself. We conceive it to have been Mr. Tennyson's purpose to embody in his drama the essential spirit and soul of the period in which the scene of his play is laid, and while doing this to preserve intact the historic sequence of events, with the real motives and causes which produced them. In the times immediately preceding the Norman Conquest the authentic facts are surrounded by much that is hazy and uncertain, and on which the poet could put his own interpretation, making it quite possible for him to be faithful to known facts without being entirely debarred the use of constructive imagination. Why certain critics should blame the Laureate for his close adherence to history, when it is not contended that by so doing he has in any way injured the artistic unity of his drama, we are totally at a loss to understand. His method certainly has advantages which an opposite method could not have. By reproducing the historic facts in their integrity, and using his imagination only in the sphere in which history is silent or indecisive, the poet is able to give a consistent picture of life which has all the interest of real history, with the additional interest which flows from the poet's genius. We are by no means disposed to find fault with this close adherence to historic truthfulness; for if a drama be

really successful, the vivid and life-like picture it presents to the popular mind is apt to supersede the more prosaic picture presented by real history; and if the dramatic picture vary much from the real one, confused and erroneous conceptions are the result. It may be said that no one should read poetry for history; but it is a well-known fact that many will read poetry who will not read history. It is, therefore, an advantage to popular knowledge that a popular poet should, if he will dramatise history, keep as near as possible to historic truth, and use his art only to give to the annals of the past the beauty of poetic investiture, and the power of a deepened human interest. No doubt such a treatment of history requires genius of a high order. It needs not only that insight into political conditions and appreciation of national forces which are essential in the historian, but also that higher combination of powers which goes to form the character of the true poet. But it does not appear to us that there is any necessary antagonism between the functions of the historian and the poet. The function of the historian is to narrate and explain the past; that of the historical dramatist to resuscitate—to give to its thought and passion a re-embodied form and action. True, the primary aim of the one is to inform the judgment, while that of the other is to affect the heart. But Mr. Tennyson's drama proves that the latter object may be attained without material injury to the former. Truth is the instrument by which both historian and poet must accomplish his purpose. And if the poet make a suitable choice of subject, and possess the requisite genius for his task, we see no reason to prevent his giving it an effective dramatic treatment without any serious departure from the line of historic truth. We are not, therefore, disposed to quarrel with Mr. Tennyson's dramatic method, but rather to praise him for having adopted it; for though it imposes definite limits on the play of his imagination, it leads him to concentrate his powers on the reproduction of scenes as, we may believe, they transpired in actual life.

For a proper understanding of this fine drama there are certain historical facts which need to be remembered. The drama opens in the latter part of the reign of Edward the Confessor. At that time the Normans had become the foremost race in Christendom. Their military genius and fierce valour, combined with a facility for adapting themselves to new circumstances and taking in new ideas, had enabled them to acquire a leading position and influence in Western Europe. They had founded a powerful state in Normandy, had adopted Christianity, built churches, encouraged culture, and established internal order and stable government. They had a remarkable genius for negotiation with neighbouring peoples, and their chivalrous spirit, elegant manners, enter-

prize and ambition, had gained them great influence in England long prior to the time of the Conquest. Alliances had been formed between them and the reigning families of England. King Edward himself, half Norman by blood, was believed to be more than half Norman in his sympathies. English sees had been bestowed on Norman bishops; English estates had been given to Norman nobles. The chief offices of state were held by Normans; troops of fortune-seekers from over the channel thronged the court, and Norman-French was familiarly spoken in the palace at Westminster. Already this tide of Norman influence threatened to submerge Saxon England. Before it, the great Earl Godwin and his six sons were driven into exile. But Godwin and his sons returned, backed by an imposing armed force, and presented themselves on the Thames at Westminster to demand the restoration of their rights and the expulsion of the foreigner. As they had been unjustly banished, and had the sympathy of the native population, the Norman intruders fled in terror back to France. Godwin was reinstated in power; his family soon acquired a chief influence in the country, and became the most stable support of the throne. Godwin's daughter is married to the king, and his sons become English earls. Harold becomes Earl of Wessex. Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, and Gurth, of East Anglia, while the earldom of Kent and Essex falls to Leofwin. Godwin, while he lived, was the true ruler of England, and when he was no more his mantle fell upon Harold, who, alone among his sons, was the one qualified, both by nature and training, to fill his place. Harold's military genius, personal courage, immense physical strength, his generosity, his frank open countenance, his fine sagacious intelligence, and his patriotic devotion to England, made him at once the idol of the people and the mainstay of the kingdom against the influence of the pertinacious Norman. The monkish king, devoted to his relics and his prayers, paid little attention to the affairs of his kingdom. Indeed, he was ill-qualified by nature to rule, and felt his need of a person like Harold to be constantly near him, to relieve him of the weight of government and control the factious strife which was chronic in the land. At the time when the drama opens Harold had already for twelve years borne the chief burden in governing the country, and the people naturally looked to him as the only one able to fill the vacant throne when the king should have passed away.

On the other hand, William of Normandy had great influence with Edward, and already had his eye on the English throne. He considered that after the Atheling—whose succession was out of the question—he had the next best right to it. Indeed, he asserted that Edward had promised to nominate him as his successor. But, right or wrong, he was determined to assert his

claim, and he was not of a character to be easily baulked in his purpose. "In William the desperate fierceness of the Northern race was the wonder and the fear of mankind. His vast strength and his brilliant daring were qualities which he shared with his English foe. But the gigantic frame, the savage countenance, the irresistible fury of wrath, the pitiless cruelty of revenge declared William a genuine Norseman. Such a Norseman, had he been nothing more, though he might have been a triumphant invader, could not have become a true conqueror. But, to the passionate impetuosity which storms a town or turns the tide of a fight, William joined the military and the political genius which can found a government and temper a civilization." Harold of England and William of Normandy are antagonists worthy of each other, and with two such characters in collision we have material well adapted to fill the central place in a great historical tragedy.

Harold, William, and King Edward are the leading characters in Mr. Tennyson's drama, and amongst them naturally absorb the chief interest of the piece. But among the minor characters there are several to whom considerable interest attaches. The brave, unselfish, faithful, leal-hearted Gurth is a character that touches a deep chord in our nature. The fiery, impetuous, irrational Tostig is distinctly pourtrayed, as is also the somewhat flippant Leofwin; and so, too, is the fearful, shrinking, gentle Wolfnoth, who is held as a hostage in Normandy. The affection Harold bore to this delicate youth is finely used by the poet as an instrument in extracting from him the oath to William of Normandy. Malet, a Norman noble of English extraction, is also a well-drawn character, and sustains an important part in the relations between William and Harold; though it is somewhat difficult to conceive how, with his strong English sympathies, he should have had so much influence at the Norman court. To our mind one of the most interesting of the minor characters is the "dry, old, uncanonical Stigaud," the Saxon Archbishop of Canterbury, who held his pallium from the Anti-pope. His hatred of the Normans, his staunch adherence to the English cause, his rationalistic contempt for Edward's visions and the superstitions of the time, are finely brought out. Among the female characters the queen attracts but little notice; as Mr. Tennyson paints her, she is a much less attractive character than she appears in Lytton's romance. Aldwith, the daughter of Alfgar and widowed Queen of Wales, who has conceived an intense passion for Harold, and—foreseeing he will be king—is resolved by treacherous plotting to force him to marry her, plays an important though repulsive part in the drama. Edith is the most interesting of the female characters. She was the ward of Edward, who intended her for the cloister. Harold and she were devoted to each other, and

history reports them to have been secretly married. The story of their love is finely interwoven with the progress of the drama till after the fatal battle she finds the dead body of Harold among the slain, falls on it and dies, declaring herself "his true wife for ever and for ever more." This ill-starred affection is the occasion of the finest lyrics and the most touching passages of the whole drama.

The following is an abstract of the play as given by an able writer in the *Times*, and which is so well done that we see no chance of improving it, and therefore give it entire.

"Mr. Tennyson's first act opens in the latter days of Edward the Confessor's reign. The first scene is laid in London, at the King's Palace. A comet is blazing in the sky, and troubling the minds of men with the fear of change. While each personal ambition reads its own encouragement or its own danger in that sign, the devout King, whose work is nearly done, recognizes in it a threat of God's judgment of the "narrowness and coldness" of the realm:—

EDWARD.

"In heaven signs!
"Signs upon earth! signs everywhere! your Priests
"Gross, worldly, simoniacal, unlearn'd!
"They scarce can read their Psalter; and your churches
"Uncouth, unhandsome, while in Normanland
"God speaks thro' abler voices, as He dwells
"In statlier shrine. I say not this, as being
"Half Norman blooded, nor, as some have held,
"Because I love the Norman better—no,
"But dreading God's revenge upon this realm
"For narrowness and coldness: and I say it
"For the last time perchance before I go
"To find the sweet refreshment of the Saints.
"I have lived a life of utter purity:
"I have builded the great church of Holy Peter:
"I have wrought miracles—to God the glory—
"And miracles will in my name be wrought
"Hereafter. I have fought the fight and go—
"I see the flashing gates of pearl—
"And it is well with me, tho' some of you
"Have scorned me—ay—but after I am gone
"Woe, woe to England! I have had a vision;
"The seven sleepers in the cave at Ephesus
"Have turn'd from right to left."

Harold is brought before us at the outset as the man who for 12 years has been the mainstay of England, as Edward himself declares:—

"I know it, son; I am not thankless: thou
"Hast broken all my foes, lighten'd for me
"The weight of this poor crown, and left me time
"And peace for prayer to gain a better one.
"Twelve years of service! England loves thee for it.
"Thou art the man to rule her!"

Harold himself, in the dialogue which follows between him and his brothers, tells the same truth more bluntly:—

"The King? the King is ever at his prayers;
"In all that handles matter of the State
"I am the King."

Harold now craves from Edward a boon which has been well deserved. He wants a holyday. He asks permission to leave England for a while "to hunt and hawk beyond the seas." Harold wishes to go to Normandy, where his younger brother Wulfnoth has long been a hostage in Norman hands for the loyalty of the English Godwin's house to Edward. But on this point Edward is decided. In vain does Harold plead, "Is not the Norman Count thy friend and mine?" Edward answers merely, "I pray thee do not go to Normandy," and then, more peremptorily, "Harold, I will not yield thee leave to go." It is agreed that Harold shall take his holyday in Flanders. The second scene—in the garden of the King's house near London—passes shortly before Harold sets out on his voyage. Edith, the ward of Edward, loves Harold, and is loved by him:—

"Love is come with a song and a smile,
"Welcome Love with a smile and a song:
"Love can stay but a little while.
"Why cannot he stay? They call him away:
"Ye do him wrong, ye do him wrong;
"Love will stay for a whole life long."

The parting between the lovers in the moonlit garden discovers the hope which has already shaped itself clearly before them:—

"Mine amulet, ...
"This last . . . upon thine eyelids to shut in
"A happier dream. Sleep, sleep, and thou shalt see
"My grayhounds fleeting like a beam of light,
"And hear my peregrine and her bells in heaven;
"And other bells on earth, which yet are heaven's;
"Guess what they be.

EDITH.

"He cannot guess who knows.
"Farewell, my King.

HAROLD.

"Not yet, but then—my Queen."

Their talk has been overheard by Aldwyth, widow of Griffyth, King of Wales, and daughter of Alfgar. There had long been fierce jealousy between the House of Alfgar and the House of Godwin. But now the daughter of Alfgar is drawn to the son of Godwin, the conqueror of her first lord, by the spell of a noble nature whose strength is utterly unlike her strength. She knows that his first love, at least, cannot be hers—it is Edith's. But she is resolute, politic, and patient. She sees

already how the stormy days that are at hand may serve her passion as well as her ambition. She will win Harold yet. But it shall be when his crown is at stake. And her triumph shall be at the same time a triumph for the house of Alfgar.

The second Act contains the adventures of Harold beyond seas. On his voyage to Flanders he is wrecked on the coast of Ponthieu. A fisherman, who in visiting the English coast had once seen the great Earl of Wessex, takes the news to Guy, Count of Ponthieu. For a small reward he will show the Count a captive who can pay a great ransom. The Count rides down to the coast, seizes Harold, and carries him off to be racked or ransomed in the fortress of Beaurain. The second scene is laid at Bayeux, in the Palace of William, Duke—or, as Mr. Tennyson prefers to call him, Count—of Normandy, the future Conqueror of England. Much has happened since Harold's shipwreck. William has used his authority over his former prisoner and actual vassal, Count Guy, to procure Harold's release. Harold has since accompanied William on an expedition against Conan, Count of the Bretons, and has done good service therein. He is now William's guest at Bayeux, where his brother Wulfnoth is still a hostage. Harold's real plight is best described in the words of his Norman entertainer:—

"Our friend Guy
"Had wrung his ransom from him by the rack,
"But that I stept between and purchased him,
"Translating his captivity from Guy
"To mine own hearth at Bayeux, where he sits
"My ransom'd prisoner."

William has resolved that Harold shall not leave him yet:—

MALET (a Norman noble).
"But I should let him home again, my Lord William.
"Simple! let fly the bird within the hand,
"To catch the bird again within the bush!
"No.
"Smooth thou my way before he clash with me;
"I want his voice in England for the crown,
"I want thy voice with him to bring him round;
"And being brave he must be subtly cow'd,
"And being truthful wrought upon to swear
"Vows that he dare not break."

By degrees it is made more and more evident to Harold that he is not to go home "save on conditions." And presently tidings reach Harold from England which makes his scarcely veiled captivity yet more insupportable. Morcar and Edwin, the sons of Alfgar, have stirred up the Thanes of Northumbria against Earl Tostig, Harold's brother, and the whole country north of Humber "is one storm." Harold's mind is wrought on still more powerfully by the fears, the entreaties, and the forebodings of

his younger and weaker brother Wulfnoth, who had already been so long the hostage of the Normans. Let Harold pause before he angers a man who tears out the eyes and slices off the hands of his prisoners. Let him think of the *oubliette*, thirty feet below the ground, and of the dog's food thrown down through the blackness on his head; let him think of his unhappy brother Wulfnoth. Let him think of England. Let him think of Norman license threatening English women. Let him think of Edith. Wulfnoth's pleading, helped by time and by the news from oversea, at last does its work. William alleges a promise made to him by his cousin, Edward the Confessor. Edward had promised that, if he ever became King, he would support William's claim to be his successor. Edward's son, Edgar the Atheling—the last male of the House of Cerdic—is "sickly, slight, half-witted, and a child." Then William asks Harold, "Wilt *thou* uphold my claim?" Harold says, "Ay"—if Edward has not revoked his promise—if the Witan consents. "Thine 'ifs,'" says his friendly prompter, Malet, "will sear thine eyes out." Harold promises unconditionally.

But a promise is not enough. William must have an oath. In the presence of the Norman Court, Harold takes the oath. This scene, which gives the keynote to the tragedy of Harold's personal fate, is also one of the most dramatically powerful in the play:—

WILLIAM.

"We have heard
"Of thy just, mild, and equal governance;
"Honour to thee! thou art perfect in all honour!
"Thy naked word thy bond! confirm it now
"Before our gather'd Norman baronage,
"For they will not believe thee—as I believe.
[Descends from his throne and stands by the ark.
"Let all men here bear witness of our bond!
[Beckons Harold, who advances. Enter Malet following him.
"Lay thou thy hand upon this golden pall!
"Behold the jewel of St. Pancratius
"Woven into the gold. Swear thou on this!

HAROLD.

"What should I swear? Why should I swear on this?

WILLIAM (savagely).

"Swear thou to help me to the crown of England.

MALET (whispering HAROLD).

"My friend, thou hast gone too far to palter now.

WULFNOTH (whispering HAROLD).

"Swear thou to-day, to-morrow is thine own.

HAROLD.

"I swear to help thee to the crown of England . . . .
"According as King Edward promises.

WILLIAM.

"Thou must swear absolutely, noble Earl.

MALET (whispering).
"Delay is death to thee, ruin to England.
WULFNOTH (whispering).
"Swear, dearest brother, I beseech thee, swear!
"HAROLD (putting his hand on the jewel).
"I swear to help thee to the crown of England.
WILLIAM.
"Thanks, truthful Earl; I did not doubt thy word,
"But that my Barons might believe thy word,
"And that the Holy Saints of Normandy
"When thou art home in England, with thine own,
"Might strengthen thee in keeping of thy word,
"I made thee swear.—Show him by whom he hath sworn.
[The two Bishops advance, and raise the cloth of gold. The bodies and bones of Saints are seen lying in the ark.
"The holy bones of all the Canonised
"From all the holiest shrines in Normandy!
HAROLD.
"Horrible! [They let the cloth fall again.
WILLIAM.
"Ay, for thou hast sworn an oath
"Which, if not kept, would make the hard earth rive,
"To the very Devil's horns, the bright sky cleave
"To the very feet of God, and send her hosts
"Of injured Saints to scatter sparks of plague
"Thro' all your cities, blast your infants, dash
"The torch of war among your standing corn,
"Dabble your hearths with your own blood.—Enough!
"Thou wilt not break it! I, the Count—the King—
"Thy friend—am grateful for thine honest oath,
"Not coming fiercely like a conqueror, now,
"But softly as a bridegroom to his own,
"For I shall rule according to your laws,
"And make your ever-jarring Earldoms move
"To music and in order—Angle, Jute,
"Dane, Saxon, Norman, help to build a throne
"Out-towering hers of France—The wind is fair
"For England now. To-night we will be merry.
"To-morrow will I ride with thee to Harfleur."

The Third Act opens at the death-bed of Edward the Confessor. Harold and the rest gaze almost with awe on his calm rest—

"The rosy face and long down-silvering beard,
"The brows unwrinkled as a summer mere—"

until the King awakes to tell them of a vision which he has seen in sleep, as of an angel crying "the doom of England." Harold has told Edward of his oath to William. Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, has formally absolved Harold from the oath. But the validity of the absolution is doubtful, since Stigand had his pallium from the Anti-pope Benedict. And now King Edward has resolved, as his last act, to make atonement for his own "random promise" to William by consecrating his ward, Edith, to the cloister. Harold must swear to see this vow performed:—

HAROLD.
"Nay, dear Lord, for I have sworn
"Not to swear falsely twice.
EDWARD.
"Thou wilt not swear?
HAROLD.
"I cannot.
EDWARD.
"Then on thee remains the curse,
"Harold, if thou embrace her: and on thee
"Edith, if thou abide it,—
[The KING swoons; EDITH falls and kneels by the couch.
STIGAND.
"He hath swoon'd.
"Death? no, as yet a breath.
HAROLD.
"Look up! look up!
"Edith!
ALDRED.
"Confuse her not; she hath begun
"Her life-long prayer for thee."

Edward wakes from the swoon in delirium, and expires with a terrible prophecy on his lips:—

"God
"Has fill'd the quiver, and Death has drawn the bow—
"Sanguelac! the arrow! the arrow!" [Dies.

The second scene of the Third Act is the shadow to light of Act I. Scene 2 Harold is now King. Harold and Edith are talking in the same garden, but Edith feels that the dead King's vow has put an everlasting barrier between herself and Harold:

"They say thou art to wed the Lady Aldwyth."

While they are yet speaking, tidings come that Tostig, Harold's brother—the banished Earl of Northumbria—has landed in that country with the King of Norway, Harold Hardrada, and has routed Morcar and Edwin, the sons of Alfgar. Nor are these the worst tidings. William of Normandy has denounced King Harold to the Pope—"and that Archdeacon Hildebrand, his master"—as having sworn falsely by the Norman Saints. All France, all Burgundy, all Christendom is raised against Harold.

The Fourth Act brings the beginning of the end. King Harold has hastened to the war in Northumbria. Edwin, Earl of Mercia, and Morcar, the new Earl of Northumbria, have been beaten back by Tostig and the King of Norway. The people are sullen. When King Harold comes no acclaim greets his standard, the golden Dragon of Wessex. But voices rise from the crowd which tell of pride in their old Danish blood, which betray the wish to see the old Northumbrian crown worn by a King of their own choice, and which, lastly, join Harold's name with Aldwyth's. Her brothers

are not unskilful in their part. "We cannot swear that our people will follow thee against the Norsmen if thou deny them this,"—

HAROLD.

"Canst thou love one who cannot love again?

ALDWYTH.

"Full hope have I that love will answer love.

HAROLD.

"Then in the name of the great God, so be it!
"Come, Aldred, join our hands before the hosts,
"That all may see."

[Aldred joins the hands of Harold and Aldwyth and blesses them.

The second and third scenes of the Fourth Act are prelude and sequel to the Battle of Stamford Bridge. In the second scene Harold gives Tostig a last opportunity for reconciliation, and Tostig replies with a last defiance. In the third scene, while King Harold and his bride and his warriors are still celebrating the great victory of Stamford Bridge, the banquet is interrupted by the arrival of a Thane, who has ridden night and day from the south. William of Normandy has landed at Pevensey.

'The Fifth Act has for its first scene "A Tent on a Mound, from which can be seen the Field of Senlac," a spur of the Sussex Downs near Hastings, now occupied by the abbey and town of Battle. King Harold is sitting in his tent. By him stand his brothers Gurth and Leofwin; and the Monk, Hugh Margot. Margot's mission is to be, in his own phrase, a "Norman Daniel" to the English Belshazzar. But Harold is less troubled by Margot's denunciations than by the warnings from the spirits of dead and living which come to him when, that night, he is left in solitude. He beholds a vision of Edward, a vision of Wolfnuth, a vision of Tostig, a vision of the Norman Saints. Already the Holy Rood had bowed above him, as in presage of ruin, in his own house at Waltham. But still deep down in his mind there is the sense that he has stood on the side of the right, and that the power which accuses him in the name of the Saints is itself a power of darkness. He cannot disentangle the sophistry; but he feels the falsehood. He starts up, battle-axe in hand, from the oppression of the terrible phantasies:—

"Away!
"My battle-axe against your voices. Peace!
"The king's last word—'the arrow!' I shall die—
"I die for England, then, who lived for England—
"What nobler? men must die.
"I cannot fall into a falser world—
"I have done no man wrong. Tostig, poor brother,
"Art *thou* so anger'd?
"Fain had I kept thine earldom in thine hands
"Save for thy wild and violent will that wrench'd
"All hearts of freemen from thee. I could do
"No other than this way advise the king

"Against the race of Goodwin. Is it possible
"That mortal men should bear their earthly heats
"Into yon bloodless world, and threaten us thence
"Unschool'd of Death? Thus then thou art revenged—
"I left our England naked to the South
"To meet thee in the North. The Norseman's raid
"Hath helpt the Norman, and the race of Goodwin
"Hath ruin'd Goodwin. No—our waking thoughts
"Suffer a stormless shipwreck in the pools
"Of sullen slumber, and arise again
"Disjointed: only dreams—where mine own self
"Takes part against myself! Why? for a spark
"Of self-disdain born in me when I sware
"Falsely to him, the falser Norman, over
"His gilded ark of mummy saints, by whom
"I knew not that I sware,—not for myself—
"For England—yet not wholly—

Enter EDITH.

"Edith, Edith,
"Get thou into thy cloister as the king
"Will'd it: be safe: the perjury-mongering Count
"Hath made too good an use of Holy Church
"To break her close! There the great God of truth
"Fill all thine hours with peace!—A lying devil
"Hath haunted me—mine oath—my wife—I fain
"Had made my marriage not a lie; I could not:
"Thou art my bride! and thou in after years
"Praying perchance for this poor soul of mine
"In cold, white cells beneath an icy moon—
"This memory to thee!—and this to England,
"My legacy of war against the Pope
"From child to child, from Pope to Pope, from age to age,
"Till the sea wash her level with her shores,
"Or till the Pope be Christ's."

Two farewells remain to be taken—from the wife whom he never loved and from the loved one whom he could not wed. Then the Norman cries are heard afar off—"Ha Rou! Ha Rou!" and the last English King of England goes forth to front the doom of God. Edith remains in the tent. As Harold leaves it, Stigand enters. By-and-by a whirring sound tells that the Norman archers have begun the attack. Stigand watches it from the tent, and reports to Edith each change in its fortunes. In the pauses a solemn chant is heard without—a Latin hymn, sung by the Canons of Waltham, of which the grand strains seem to rise or fall with the sounds of a battle. The hopes and fears of one who watches a great struggle are vividly expressed in a passage of sustained intensity:—

EDITH.

"Look out upon the hill—is Harold there?"

Stigand answers in the words of Edward's delirious prophecy now fulfilled:—

"Sanguelac—Sanguelac—the arrow—the arrow!—away!"

The closing scene is the Field of the Dead by night. Aldwyth and Edith meet in their search for the body of Harold. They have just found it, when William of Normandy enters with Malet. Aldwyth is recognised as the Queen. "Knowest thou this other?" asked William:—

MALET.

When I visited England,
"Some held she was his wife in secret—some—
"Well—some believed she was his paramour.

EDITH.

"Norman, thou liest! liars all of you,
"Your Saints and all! *I* am his wife! and she—
"For look, our marriage ring!
[She draws it off the finger of Harold.
"I lost it playing with it when I was wild.
"*That* bred the doubt: but I am wiser now . . .
"I am too wise . . . will none among you all
"Bear me true witness—only for this once—
"That I have found it here again?
[She puts it on.
"And thou,
"Thy wife am I for ever and evermore."
[Falls on the body and dies.

From the foregoing analysis it will be seen the drama contains all the materials of a great tragedy. These materials have been marshalled by the poet with all the skill of genius. But no mere outline can possibly convey to the mind the effect of the drama as a whole, for much of the poetic beauty and interest necessarily evaporate in the process of condensation. The splendour of the imagery, and the condensed literary power of many of the passages may be judged of by the foregoing quotations. But the sequence of action, the intense fervour, the accumulative force of interest, the unity and dramatic completeness of the work, can only be properly appreciated by a reference to the drama itself.

The central incident is Harold's famous oath to William of Normandy. What the nature of this oath really was is shrouded in uncertainty. The most competent historians incline to the opinion that it was merely a promise on the part of Harold to marry William's daughter; and much probability is given to this view by the fact that it was to the interest of the Normans, who established themselves in the country after the Conquest, to place their own conduct in as favourable a light as possible, and to represent Harold as a forsworn traitor. It seems tolerably certain, however, that some kind of oath was taken by Harold; and considering the obscurity which hangs around the event, it was legitimately within Mr. Tennyson's province, as a historical dramatist, to put upon it the construction he has done. In the position in which Harold is placed, when he is presented as taking

the oath our sympathies go entirely with him, and we feel that if ever circumstances could render moral wrong venial it was in his case—while the cruelty and subtle craft by which William extorts the oath rouse in us the deepest feelings of moral reprobation. Though Harold feels that the real guilt is with William, his inborn uprightness of soul writhes under the degrading consciousness of having, under pressure, made a promise he did not mean to keep; and though ecclesiastics seek to assure him by casuistical reasoning that what he did was right, and though Stigand gives him absolution for his oath, yet he cannot shake off its effects. Throughout the entire drama the oath follows him as an avenging angel.

The use the Laureate makes of Harold's oath seems to us to illustrate the peculiar bent of the poet's genius. There are two things which, in our judgment, are essential in the historical dramatist of the highest type. The first is that gift of imaginative insight which can distinctly realise subjective forces, and carry them up into fitting external action. The other is the power to realise the specific enthusiasm of any great movement among a mass of men, which envelops and influences, without destroying, individual character. And these two kinds of power, moreover, should be properly balanced in his mind. He should be able to give due effect in his drama not only to those principles of action which move men from within themselves, but also to that more subtle force by which they are influenced from without. Shakspere can lay open to us the inner workings of the heart, and portray with terrible vividness and power the effect of passion and guilt; but he can also make us feel ourselves in the *furore* of a battle and catch the inspiration of the fray. This Mr. Tennyson does not do. He portrays the individualities of character with admirable distinctness, laying bare at the same time the subjective roots from which they spring; and he can move us to awe or pity by a picture of the inward agony and conflict of a great soul. But when he takes us out into the wider field of historic action his power is less felt. Amid all the fire and action of the drama, it is more the moral conflict in the mind of Harold or Edith than the more momentous conflict of England against Normandy, that enchains our interest. Indeed, the whole action of the piece is so ordered as to bring out with powerful vividness the terrible effects of Harold's oath. There was dramatic material connected with Harold's brilliant victory at Stamford Bridge which Shakspere would probably have used to good effect, but of which the Laureate makes little use; and this is probably because it would have interfered with the dramatic unity which he has made to hinge radically upon a subjective point of interest. Harold's character is so little coloured by the influence of his own age that we

could almost imagine him to have lived in the nineteenth century. But the unity of the play is complete; and the brooding shadow of doom which the oath draws over the whole movement of the action greatly enhances the tragic effect of the catastrophe. The play proves Mr. Tennyson to possess both the essentials of dramatic genius; but not, we think, in evenly balanced proportion. The subjective tendency in his mind appears to have the preponderant power. Harold is a noble drama; and establishes the Laureate's claim to a high rank among the best historical dramatists, but it is too strongly marked by the individuality of his own mind to place him on an equality with the universal Shakspere.

One thing which impresses us in reading this drama is the tremendous power which was possessed by the Romish Church in mediæval times—a power by which she not only controlled the mind and thought of men, but determined the fate of kingdoms. The power that overthrew Saxon England was wielded really from Rome. It was this which weakened the power of Harold and nerved the iron hand of William. The ramifications of her power were spread over the whole life of Western Europe, and coloured the entire horizon of its thought. She had grown like some great upas tree, till the branches covered the sky and darkened the light of heaven. Innumerable priestly voices croaked forth curses and denounced the doom of God against all that threatened the power which upheld them. Even the strongest minds could not shake themselves quite free from the fetters of this spiritual power. The Laureate makes an effective use in his play of this power of the Romish system. We see in Harold a noble nature surging in the toils of a spiritual power from which he cannot free himself; but whose instinctive sense of right and patriotic courage enable him to defy it. This is finely brought out in the passage quoted above, where he starts up amid the boding voices foreshadowing his fate, and exclaims:—

> "Away!
> My battle-axe against your voices. Peace!
> The king's last word—'the arrow!' I shall die—
> I die for England, then, who lived for England," &c.

Harold is the embodiment of that English spirit of freedom, that hatred of spiritual and political tyranny, which, even in the Mediæval ages, still lived on under the terrible incubus of Romish power, as the prophecy and germ of our modern liberties. It could not yet achieve deliverance, but left its legacy to later ages:—

> "And this to England,
> My legacy of war against the Pope
> From child to child, from Pope to Pope, from age to age,
> Till the sea wash her level with her shores,
> Or till the Pope be Christ's."

The drama contains may fine passages which might be quoted. We cannot refrain from giving the exquisite love lyric of Edith, where she is introduced as singing and soliloquising on her own unhappy fate in a manner which reminds us of Shakspere's Ophelia. Harold is crowned, and she is doomed to the cloister:—

EDITH.

"Crown'd, crown'd and lost, crown'd King—and lost to me!
(*Singing.*)
Two young lovers in winter weather,
None to guide them,
Walk'd at night on the misty heather:
Night, as black as a raven's feather;
Both were lost and found together,
None beside them.
That is the burthen of it—lost and found
Together in the cruel river Swale
A hundred years ago; and there's another,
Lost, lost, the light of day,
To which the lover answers lovingly,
'I am beside thee.'
Lost, lost, we have lost the way,
'Love, I will guide thee.'
Whither, O whither? into the river,
Where we two may be lost together,
And lost for ever? 'Oh; never, oh! never,
Tho' we be lost and be found together.'
Some think they loved within the pale forbidden
By Holy Church: but who shall say? the truth
Was lost in that fierce North, where *they* were lost,
Where all good things are lost, where Tostig lost
The good hearts of his people."

We conclude by giving Edward's death-bed vision of the future of England after the Norman Conquest, and which competent critics regard as among the finest passages of Mr. Tennyson's poetry:—

EDWARD.

"The green tree!
Then a great Angel past along the highest,
Crying 'the doom of England,' and at once
He stood beside me, in his grasp a sword
Of lightnings, wherewithal he cleft the tree
From off the bearing trunk, and hurl'd it from him
Three fields away, and then he dash'd and drench'd,
He dyed, he soak'd the trunk with human blood,
And brought the sunder'd tree again, and set it
Straight on the trunk, that thus baptised in blood
Grew ever high and higher, beyond my seeing,
And shot out sidelong boughs across the deep
That dropt themselves, and rooted in far isles
Beyond my seeing: and the great Angel rose
And past again along the highest, crying
'The doom of England!'—Tostig, raise my head!"

[*Falls back senseless.*

W. G.

ART. VI.—THE PASTORAL OFFICE AS SET FORTH IN THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

BY THE REV. JOHN WATSON.

PART II.

FOLLOWING the above distribution, let us now consider the duties of a pastor more in detail. And turning first to those connected with his service as "the steward of God," *the ministry of the word*, or the ministerial work of teaching, claims our chief attention.

The work of teaching is denoted in the Pastoral Epistles, sometimes by the simple word *didaskein* (to teach), at other times by phrases such as *keruttein ton logon* (to preach the word), or *ergon poiein evaggelistou* (to do the work of an evangelist).

Leaving out of sight the secondary idea of an itinerating preacher, associated in apostolic times with the last designation, *evangelist*, (distinguished therefore in Eph. iv. 11 from teacher), it evidently refers to the subject of teaching, the Gospel or *logos*, more definitely, "the wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ." (1 Tim. 6, 3.) Therewith, at the outset, every "other doctrine" is excluded; and not only what is contrary, but also what is not immediately related, to the Gospel. "But speak thou the things which become sound doctrine." (Tit. ii. 1.) The teacher must not, therefore, give heed to fables (*muthoi*), that is, anything merely imaginary, or which cannot be proved or inferred from the Word of God. Timothy had received the Christian truth, which was to form the subject of teaching, from his spiritual father (2 Tim. iii. 10); in this he had to continue (2 Tim. iii. 14), adhering in his teaching work solely to what he had heard of the Apostle. (2 Tim. ii. 2.) The Scriptures of the Old Testament were indeed commended to him as "profitable for doctrine." Not that he had to draw the substance of his teaching from them, but they were to be used for the more profound and vigorous setting forth of the Christian verities. The true source from which the matter for instruction had to be drawn was, of course, the apostolic *kerugma* (preaching). Tit. i. 3.

This is, however, on the whole self-evident. It is of more importance to note that Timothy has also to copy the example of his master in regard to the method of communicating the truths which he had received. "Hold fast the *form* of sound words which thou hast heard of me." 2 Tim. i. 13. The form (*hupotuposis*) signifies a sketch or general representation. It is the plan or outline of sound doctrine which Paul had sketched for Timothy to imitate—which he had, as it were, traced before him. This drawing

had to be kept before his eyes as a model when engaged in the work of teaching. He had not, indeed, to copy it, stroke for stroke, in an outward mechanical way; but to hold it fast "in faith and love," that, becoming as it were part of himself, there might proceed from his own life of faith and love a free and living reproduction of the apostle's teachings. It would be going too far to say that the apostle wished Timothy to follow him in regard to the outward form and structure of his discourses. The form of speech is only the garment which varies with time and circumstances, and even with the individuality of the teacher, which may here assert itself. It cannot, therefore, be always of one style. Nevertheless, we are warranted in supposing that this passage refers to the way and manner of handling the truth to be preached; and therefore in regarding the apostolic preaching as the pattern to be followed both as to *substance* and *mode*. The pastoral epistles are very instructive in this respect. The apostle appears in them not merely as an instructor in the art of preaching (of course in its most primitive form), but repeatedly as a preacher himself. There is a fine example of a Gospel sermon, at least in its main outlines, in Tit. ii. 11, 14. This excursus is of peculiar value since Paul recommends what is said therein to his helpers for imitation by adding, "these things speak," &c. (ver. 15.) It clearly indicates what ought to be the substance of doctrinal teaching; namely, the main facts of redemption by Jesus Christ, in their deep significance, their solemn requirements, and glorious effects. There is a similar discourse in Tit. iii. 3, 7, which is also marked as a pattern by the subjoined words, "And these things I will that thou constantly affirm." (Ver. 8.) The apostle knew, indeed, that the discussion of the so-called *muthoi* (the real character of which we are certainly ignorant of), and the starting of questions on all kinds of curious subjects, would be more interesting to many than the simple Gospel discourse. Still he felt the importance of presenting again and again, even at the risk of seeming trivial, the main doctrines of the faith, "For these things are good and profitable to men." (Tit. iii. 8.) The great object to be kept in view was the profit of the hearers (Tit. iii. 9), and not the gratification of their fancies (2 Tim. iv. 3.). By the introduction of questions which only excited curiosity, attention would be drawn from the substance of the truth (2 Tim. iv. 4); which, that it might become the possession of those who heard it, must be insisted upon strongly (Tit. iii. 8,) (*diabebaiousthai*), and set before them again and again, though with varying form and application.

But as all speculations and enquiries concerning genealogies and matters of that sort, which are not connected with the main truths of Christianity, seemed to the apostle useless, and, with all their display of learning, simply foolish (2 Tim. ii. 23), so could he by

no means be contented with such an exposition of the Christian faith as aimed solely at the satisfaction of the intellect and a one-sided advancement of knowledge. The true aim of preaching was with him something thoroughly practical. Thus, in contrast with those paths into which the false teachers had swerved, he declares in 1 Tim. i. 5, that "the end of the *paraggelia* (commandment) is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned." "The commandment" cannot here mean the moral law, since this is called immediately after by another name *nomos* (the law). With more reason it may be supposed to denote the evangelical law—the law of the new dispensation of God, *oikonomia theou* (ver. 4)—which is the norm or rule of Christian conduct. But, taking into account its unmistakable accord with *paraggeiles* in verse 3, "that thou mightest charge," &c, we would prefer regarding it as the charge which Timothy had to give to the false teachers. "Now the scope of the charge which thou must give unto these teachers is to inculcate, instead of fables and genealogies, love to God and man, proceeding from a pure heart and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned." The work of teaching must, then, have for its object the production of love. But from this aim the false teachers had swerved (v. 6), having entirely lost sight of the proper end of teaching, that of influencing the moral life. Hence everything they said was nothing better than "vain jangling." In like manner Paul charged Titus to aim at awakening in his hearers a genuine zeal for virtue: "that they might be careful to maintain good works." (Tit. iii. 8). Now, there is the closest connection between this clearly expressed end and *the way of presenting* the saving truth of the Gospel. There must in no case be mere theoretical instruction in Christian truth; the moral improvement of men must ever be kept in view. On the other hand, a one-sided setting forth of morality will not accomplish this end, since according to Titus iii. 8, it can only be attained by means of a knowledge and reception of the truths of the Christian faith. The only successful way of presenting the truth seems to be that of combining in the closest manner dogmatics with morals, the doctrines of faith with the rules of life. This is specially indicated in the two above-cited examples of preaching (Titus ii. 11, and iii. 7). They present the main doctrines of Christianity in immediate connection with their ethical consequences. Had the apostle's charge—"These things speak and exhort"—been more attended to in the Church, neither the one-sided dogmatism of post-reformation, nor the insipid moralising of pre-reformation times would have been possible. Whenever the Apostle insists upon the elevation of the moral state of the Church he points at the same time to its indispensably necessary root, faith; and, on the other hand, in presenting the doctrines of the

faith, it is always with reference to the way in which faith will shew itself in the moral life of the members of the Church.

Let the preacher observe these instructions and he will prove himself to be a workman rightly treating or handling *(orthotomounta)* the word of truth. The word *orthotomein* has, indeed, been frequently understood in the sense of *rightly dividing* the Divine Word; and in this sense *Orthotomie* has obtained for itself a formal place in Pastoral Theology as the doctrine of "the right distribution and application of the Divine Word to the peculiarities of states and circumstances." This meaning was, however, originally strange to the word; which simply signified to cut in a straight line. The idea of a plough which draws straight furrows is admissable. But the general sense is in every case to handle or treat rightly. And this is to be done in the way indicated above.

The work of the pastor in relation to the preservation of pure doctrine, or in opposition to every attempt to adulterate or becloud it with false teaching, is discussed in these epistles with more detail than the positive work of teaching. In all the three there is mention made of a system of false doctrine, nowhere indeed spoken of under a definite name, but which is distinguished by a series of characteristic marks. The most general mark is its opposition to the doctrines of salvation (1 Tim. i. 6, xix. 6, &c., &c.) The contents of this "other doctrine" are partly unfruitful, or godless speculations (1 Tim. vi. 20, 2 Tim. ii. 18), partly arbitrary ascetic commands (Tit. i. 14.). Its adherents endeavour to support their views with great scientific pretentions (1 Tim. vi. 20), and strife of words (1 Tim. vi. 4.). In a moral respect they are not only described as impure, more especially full of conceit and degrading avarice, but as altogether corrupt, yea, in the snares of the devil. It is still an open question what particular phenomenon is here referred to; it is not even decided whether one or more classes of heretics are meant. Usually one main class is assumed, and who, according to the most of expositors, were the forerunners of the Gnostics of the second century. Various modifications of this heresy are, however, conceivable. The apostle might be confronted now with this and then with that party. The sum of these characteristics is presented by him in one picture, without his intending to ascribe every feature to all. He might not, for instance, mean to apply to all heretics the severe judgment which he passed upon the moral character of the class. But a more exact enquiry would lead us into a labyrinth of hypotheses remote from the object here pursued. What we wish to make prominent, with regard to this false doctrine which Paul so bitterly condemns, is that the two main kinds of religious error which have in the course of time emerged to the right and left in many changing forms are to be seen here already—on the one hand, unevangelical narrow-

ness and legality (1 Tim. iv. 3); on the other hand, unchristian free-thought (2 Tim. ii. 18), between which the apostolic doctrine is the golden mean.

The particular attention bestowed in these epistles upon this false doctrine is itself a proof of the importance which the apostle attached to the duty of combatting it. Baur, with whom De Wette fully agrees, goes, however, too far in asserting that the polemic against heretics was the common and principal aim of all the three epistles, since it is plainly contrary to what Paul declares to be his object in his first epistle (iii. 14.). But that this part of pastoral work seemed to him of prime importance is evident from this circumstance among others, that he left Timothy at Ephesus to combat false doctrine. This subject is also the Alpha and Omega of his first epistle to Timothy (compare i. 3 with vi. 20.). It is easy to understand why Paul attached so much importance to the duty of opposing false doctrine. This was to him a diseased manifestation. The church-teacher must, therefore, be careful above everything that his own people receive wholesome nourishment. This healthy diet is *sound* doctrine, or *sound* words; an expression denoting the intrinsic wholesomeness and incorruptness of the doctrines of the Gospel, which alone can produce a truly healthy Christianity in the Church. "That they may be sound in the faith." The very use of this expression (peculiar to the pastoral epistles) indicates that all doctrine which opposes the apostolical must be essentially unsound, and, therefore, injurious in its operation. Hence the teacher of false doctrine is spoken of in 1 Tim. vi. 4 as mentally diseased (noson.) The pastor must, therefore, guard his flock against this danger. And, indeed, all his energy is needed to counterwork these corrupters of the faith. For they pursue their purpose with ceaseless energy, entering into houses, ensnaring the people with all sorts of arts, especially the weaker sex (gunaikaria)—a descriptive feature for which many parallels can be found in modern times! If they are likely then "to subvert whole houses" — if their party, and, therefore, the danger of the Church, are increasing, the impressive monition, "whose mouth must be stopped," must be regarded, and the question to be considered is—How can this be done?

First of all, Paul earnestly counsels Timothy against a way of meeting heresy which youthful ardour might wish to take. It might be thought that the simplest way of stopping the mouths of opposers would be by a public disputation, in which the power of truth could not fail of victory and the untenableness of false views being clearly manifested. The apostle will not, however, sanction such a combat; Timothy must not take up the glove which the enemies of the truth had cast down; the duty repeatedly and earnestly pressed upon him is simply to refuse these "vain

babblings" (*paraitou*, 1 Tim. iv. 7; *ektreptomenos* 1 Tim. vi. 20.). This is certainly the sense in which this warning must be taken, since Paul had no fear that his helper would personally be inclined thereto, and in danger of going over to the hostile camp. He probably gave him credit for being actuated with a noble desire to measure his strength against his adversaries, and by cogent reasoning convince them of the falsehood of their views, and, if possible, lead them back to the truth. But still he has to have nothing to do with them. In a word, the apostle forbids *logomachein* or formal disputing (2 Tim. ii. 14). According to one reading of this verse *me logomachei*, this prohibition is urged upon Timothy himself; but another reading, *me logomachein*, makes it his duty to forbid others to dispute. And why? The answer is given in verse 14: It is "to no profit," and in verse 16: "They will increase unto more ungodliness." Most steadfastly does the apostle oppose the delusive idea that apostates will permit themselves to be led back at once to the truth by refutation of their errors, or that the suppression of error may be the result of public disputation. Nay, it is not only unprofitable, but it does much harm, serving only to the "subverting of the hearers." (ver. 14). If by "the hearers" the adherents of false doctrine are meant, then it is clearly indicated that a directly contrary effect to their conversion will be produced. And does not this agree with experience? Do not men, in the heat of strife, and under the influence of the provocation which opposition stirs up, or of the vanity which will not acknowledge defeat, sink more deeply into falsehood? But if by "the hearers," are to be understood those who, without actively participating in the discussion, follow its course, then it is obvious what an evil impression must be made upon their minds, if the representative of "sound doctrine" is perhaps driven into difficulties by the sophisms of one skilled in the arts of debate, and error thus gains an apparent triumph. Even in the most favourable case a *katastrophe* (subverting) in a moral sense is unavoidable, as the passion let loose by "the strife of words" is unusually contagious, and the zeal of partisanship on religious questions too easily degenerates into carnal and sinful wrath. And that the leaders as well as the members of the Church are exposed to this danger, verses 23 and 24 indicate, Timothy being there warned to avoid questions which "gender strifes" lest he should fall into a violent and disputatious spirit ill becoming "the servant of the Lord."

But what, then, has to be done with error? Has it not to be opposed at all? Must we wait patiently until the stream settle of itself into the sands? There is one passage from which this counsel might be drawn. In 2 Tim. iii. 9 Paul assures his friend that "They shall proceed no further; for their folly shall be manifest unto all men." This is certainly a prognostic full of comfort, with

which we might be fully satisfied, if there was not in the preceding chapter (2. 16.) the contrary assertion: "Their word will eat as doth a canker." Huther tries to explain this apparent contradiction thus: "Their influence will, indeed, spread for the present, but afterwards it will come to an end." But it is said in iii. 9, briefly and definitely: "They shall proceed no further." Looking more closely at the reason which Paul gives for his assurance, we may find a simple solution. What is here said of the folly which will be manifest unto all cannot apply absolutely and entirely to every form of error then prevailing. In Tim. vi. 20, 21 there are some heretics mentioned who, seeking salvation in knowledge (*gnosis*), had erred from the faith. Those referred to in iii. 9 are, therefore, there is reason to suppose, a secondary class of heretics, who in the way of the *goëtes* (impostors) meddled with magical arts, *à la Jannes and Jambres* (ver. 8), and in such a foolish manner that they chiefly impressed the *gunaikaria* (silly women, ver. 6). The exposure of these people was near at hand; and this prediction—even when applied to all religious aberrations which bear the special mark of folly—is certainly one that has ever been fulfilled. It is different, however, with those heresies which are supported by a certain *gnosis* (knowledge), though from the stand-point of Christian wisdom it is "falsely so-called." These possess too much vital power for one to confidently look for their near destruction. On the contrary, they will spread like a sore cancer. But there is still one comfort, the foundation of the Lord standeth sure (2 Tim. ii. 19)—the rock upon which the Church rests does not perish, though the Church itself may be in part infected with error. Moreover, it happens in the House of God, as in every great house, while there are vessels "to honour," we must not be astonished if there are also utensils therein which gather into themselves many kinds of impurity (unto dishonour). But that is not to the detriment of the house. Let, then, this consideration quiet the fears of the guardians of the House of God; but let it not become a pillow on which to go to sleep. They are required rather to oppose with all their might the enemies in their own house. Now, what counsels do these epistles offer in this respect? A twofold way of dealing with this matter may be clearly distinguished—first, in relation to that part of the Church as yet uninfluenced by false teaching, and, secondly, towards those who have become entangled in its errors.

"The minister of Christ," has, first of all, to apply himself to the Church. We learn this from section 1 Tim. iv. 1-6. Here Paul, singling out some of the perverse maxims of the *pseudologoi* (speakers of lies), and proving their variance with sound Christian views, says in conclusion: "If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus

Christ." In order to prove himself "a good minister of Christ" Timothy must put before the brethren what Paul says regarding these heretical opinions. To instruct the Church in the falsehood of these *didaskalia daimonion* (doctrines of devils, v. 1) is part of his ministry. From verse 3 to 5 Paul gives him likewise the theme which he has to discuss thoroughly and repeatedly in his didactic discourses, since warning against false doctrine only exercises a lasting effect when accompanied by such a complete examination thereof as destroys its false appearance and sets it in its true light. It is well also, sometimes, to combine with this a scrutiny of the false teacher himself, so as to expose the impure motives by which he is actuated and the unhallowed means he uses to compass his ends. For it is a settled matter with the apostle that every deviation from the apostolic standard of faith has a moral cause—is rooted in moral impurity (1 Tim. i. 19, iv. 2, vi. 5); and the duplicity of their way of acting, at least of the goëtes, is mark by expressions like, *aichmalotizontes* (leading captive, 2 Tim. iii. 6). But that the members of the Church may be preserved from all love of false doctrine, it is not enough to show how valueless it is; it must also be made clear in a positive way how much they would lose by receiving it. Now, this can only be done by a thorough and convincing proclamation of the saving truths of Christianity. The apostle, therefore, enjoins this repeatedly as the only effectual means of checking error. Following the prohibition of formal disputing in 2 Tim. ii. 15, (*logomachein*,) there is the monition, "Study to show thyself approved of God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the Word of Truth. But shun profane and vain babblings." This contrasting of disputing with positive teaching is evidently founded upon the persuasion that the latter is of far more profit than the former. And in another place (2 Tim. iv. 3-5), Paul exhorts Timothy, in view of the time coming when many should turn unto fables, to do the work of an evangelist—as if he had said, when the Church is inclined to fables, it is doubly necessary for thee to proclaim the truths of the Gospel. Suitable and sufficient nourishment for the souls of the people by the teachers of the Church is then the best preventative against the snares of those who speak lies.

But how has "the minister of Christ" to act in relation to heretics themselves? The instructions given on this matter seem at the first glance to be contradictory. Gentle treatment and mild correction of adversaries is the course enjoined upon "the servant of the Lord" in 2 Tim. ii. 25; but there is set against this counsel the sharp and severe injunctions: "From such withdraw thyself" (1 Tim. vi. 5), and "From such turn away" (2 Tim. iii. 5). Clearly the apostle has two different classes of heretics in view.

But does the distinction lie—in their greater or less departure from Christain faith and morality? This does not seem to be the difference recognised; for the command to avoid them holds good, not only of the *goëtes* (deceivers), who might perhaps manifest special immorality (compare 2 Tim. iii. 5), but likewise of those heretics whose chief fault was a morbid inclination to speculations (1 Tim. vi. 4). It is, however, evident that the deceived should be treated differently from the deceiver. It is the false teachers with whom Timothy has to have no fellowship—in relation to them the command applies, "From such withdraw thyself." The wisdom of this counsel is self evident in the case of such as had never been in the Church; but even those who had at an earlier time been members of the Church were so "destitute of truth" (1 Tim. vi 5), that there would be no point of contact for pastoral influence. It is indeed to be assumed of one who appears as a teacher of new learning that he has out-grown the school, and is, therefore, beyond every instructive influence. Towards such an one there is, therefore, simply this rule to be observed: "From such withdraw thyself." But it is very different with the misguided members of the Church. Here the hope of recovery ought not to be immediately given up. The teacher must not, therefore, pass sentence at once upon these deceived and erring souls; but approach them in a gentle, friendly way (2 Tim. ii. 24), without allowing himself to be excited and provoked by the contradiction he may meet with. He must show them the error of their ways, but his chief aim must—corresponding with the main cause of their errors—be their moral improvement. As in making shipwreck of faith, a good conscience has been also cast overboard, it is essentially necessary to speak to the conscience of apostates, or those who may be on the point of apostatising. They must be instructed—an educating influence, aiming at a change of mind in a moral respect—*metanoia*—is above all needed, since the apostates are "of corrupt minds." Only from this moral change can a change of mind in relation to sound doctrine spring—"unto acknowledgment of the truth." Such a change is not, however, with absolute certainty to be looked for (the "peradventure," ver. 14 indicating this), but "the servant of the Lord" may reckon upon Divine help ("God may give unto them," &c.) Such an attempt has not indeed, to be frequently repeated. The apostle speaks only of the first and second admonition (Tit. iii. 10); and if these fail then there comes in the rule "withdraw thyself," such continued refractoriness being a proof of total perverseness, and gives to the teacher the right of turning from them with the consciousness of having done his duty.

There is yet to be considered a form of ministerial service, partly coinciding with what we have just been touching upon, namely, the guardianship of souls, or attention to the individual members

of the Church. But while the work of the minister in relation to heresy is dealt with in a thorough manner, there are only scanty hints respecting this department of pastoral work. The reason of this is, that the question "What must be done with heresy?" was at that time the burning question; here was a danger to be guarded against which threatened the very existence of the infant Church. And that the care of souls was not as thoroughly treated as it is in modern systems of pastoral theology, was due also to the circumstances of the times. The sharp distinction between the public and private labours of the ministry existing in modern times could not obtain in the early Christian communities. Their meetings, being generally in houses, were of a more familiar character. Thus the "house visitation"—this chief means of coming into personal contact with individuals and in general of more direct fellowship with the Church—stood in the closest connection with the ministry of the Word. Apart from this, there was at that time more familiar association of Christians with one another and with their superiors than in later times. Hence the guidance of the Church, as a whole, and attention to individuals went hand in hand. There are not to be found, then, in these epistles such detailed instructions respecting the care of souls as the apostle would have regarded necessary under other circumstances. Nevertheless, we meet here and there with significant hints respecting the way of dealing with individuals, and other hints given first to the Church in general, which gain greater definiteness by being applied to individual relations.

Huther finds the transition from public to private pastoral labour in 2 Tim. iv. 2. "Preach the word" is there followed by the exhortation, "Be instant in season and out of season." The usual rendering of *epistethi* is the one just given, "Be instant," that is, "continue in the preaching of the Word;" but both Huther and De Wette reject this,—the former rendering it, "Go (with the word) to individuals," whom thou must "reprove and rebuke," &c. This acceptation is favoured by the qualifying words "in season and out of season," which would not well apply to the general preaching of the Word. The signification is, however, too uncertain to make of this passage a proof-text for the duty of caring for individual souls. But in Tim. v. 1, &c., the apostle places his helper as it were in the circle of his spiritual children, where he has to devote himself (as the singular form "an elder" implies) to each individual. From this passage we may learn how definitely Paul reckoned the care of souls among ministerial duties, and, at the same time, some important rules which are to be observed in connection with it. In his joining together of the elder men with the younger, and the elder women with the younger, there is involved the hint, that from pastoral oversight no single member

of the Church has to be excepted, and that, when circumstances call for it, it must on no pretence be neglected. The pastor might be hindered from fulfilling his duty by regarding the authority and dignity of one, or the power and influence of another. Timothy receives, therefore, instructions to approach the old men (of special consideration in the Church) as well as the most unimportant young men—not to give rich men the preference over the poor slaves, but that the truth must be spoken even more solemnly to the former (1 Tim. vi. 17, &c., vi. 1.).

In dealing with individuals it will be necessary sometimes to intreat or exhort, which may rise to reproof, if their moral state requires it, and under certain circumstances will have to advance to rebuke or censure—to decisive expression of indignation. If the weapons of solemn censure have to be had recourse to, they must, however, be handled "with all long-suffering"—with a patience which is not cast down if immediate success is not achieved, but which is ready to wait and try again. The servant of the Lord must not yield to choler and wrath, but must be quiet and unimpassioned even in rebuking and reproving evil, since earnest opposition to sin may easily degenerate into roughness and bitterness towards the evil-doer. Reproof and censure must be expressed with mildness and gentleness (2 Tim. ii. 25): storm and rage and vehement wrangling are unworthy of the minister of Christ. For "the servant of the Lord must not strive;" his warfare against sin must not assume the character of worldly strife. And only by kind, friendly treatment is there any prospect of restoring the erring—"in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth."

The spirit of gentleness with which both reproof and even severe censure has to be exercised must not, however, be allowed to weaken the firm and resolute discharge of these duties. The strength of opposition to what is sinful, required of every overseer of souls, is sometimes restrained by anxious dread of offending and displeasing. This may be gathered from 2 Tim. ii. 3. After exhorting Timothy to severe and energetic remonstrance, he declares that sound doctrine will be (on account of its severity) unbearable to the people; they will therefore choose teachers suiting their own taste. Now, for a timid-hearted man, fearful to displease, this prospect would seem a sufficient reason for opposing error with as much policy as possible; on the contrary, this consideration has to impel Timothy to bold and vigorous action. We learn from this, that the true watcher for souls will wield fearlessly the sword of the Spirit against the errors and failings of those entrusted to his care, regardless whether its sharpness hurts them or not. He will not be guided by the tastes or likings of his

flock; but will continue the very treatment which is unpleasant to their natural mind, since the fact that "they will not endure sound doctrine," is the most certain proof of their need of pastoral exhortation and counsel.

But something more is required to produce lasting benefit. This is also mentioned in 2 Tim. iv. 2: Timothy has to exhort *with doctrine*—admonition must be combined with instruction. Mere incitement to the performance of Christian duty, however earnest and pressing, will not do itself: there must also be instruction as to the way in which, and the means by which, it has to be performed. The guardian of souls must not merely point to the good, it is also his duty to indicate the way that leads to it. The teacher must be the pastor, but on that very account the pastor must be withal the teacher. Mere excitement and agitation of the feelings, without instruction, never leads, as experience teaches, to abiding improvement. Hence the importance of the apostolic admonition: "exhort with . . . doctrine."

There is another hint given in that rich passage—"Be instant in season, out of season." It relates of course to the circumstances of the people to whom the word is spoken; but does it refer to their opinion or to the view of Timothy as to the suitableness of their circumstances for pastoral exhortation? If this was some special counsel which the Apostle had charged Timothy to give, we might be disposed to the first view—at a time and under circumstances which Timothy himself thought unsuitable for pastoral admonition he had nevertheless to deliver it. It is easy to see that for a pastor the choice of the moment may be of special importance; but it does not, on the other hand, matter whether the individuals concerned consider it suitable; to many the time would never suit for pastoral reproof; others would not like, at this or that season, to be troubled with it. But if circumstances seem favourable to the pastor, he should not care whether those whom he has to act upon regard the moment as well or ill-chosen. But, though convinced that this view is not at variance with the apostle's meaning, the connection of *eukairos akairos* with *epistethi* compels us, without any more exact mark, to accept the rendering of De Wette: "*Mag es Dir gelegene oder ungelegene Zeit dazu scheinen*," "whether it may seem to thee a suitable time for it or an unsuitable." It is thus a grave warning against that waiting policy which plays such a great part in the sphere of pastoral labour. The wish to put off until an altogether favourable time for pastoral duty is too often a mere cloak for indolence, and is, in any case, the cause of inactivity. This charge is, intended, therefore, to cut off the excuse, so far as it is an excuse, so often assigned for neglect of duty, "it is not the right time."

If we glance in conclusion, at the conduct of the pastor towards

individuals, *distinctively considered*, the passage from which we started, 1 Tim. v. 1, &c., reminds us that it will assume a different colouring according as their circumstances differ. Diversity of treatment, with respect to age and sex and to outward condition of life, must be observed. For the same reason stress might be laid upon difference in moral state, and even in individual peculiarities. All these must be taken into account by the pastor, since due regard to the specialities of individuals can alone give to his ministry that peculiar advantage which the care of souls has over his more general ministrations to the collective church. This regard must extend also both to the *substance* and *form* of pastoral exhortation—both to the subjects to be treated and the key to be struck in connection therewith. The first is taught in Titus ii. 2-6, the latter in 1 Tim. v. 1, &c.—the first section teaching what has to be said to different persons, the second how it has to be said. In the afore cited passages, 1 Tim. 8, &c., vi. 1, &c., the material side of this is also treated of, and everywhere there is proof that in regard to men and women, rich men and slaves, old and young, the rule of giving to each his due has to be applied, both in respect to the faults to which each is specially liable, and those special forms in which their Christian life must manifest itself. No less does this rule apply to the form of treatment. To the aged rude and violent behaviour is most unseemly. Even if grey hairs, when not worn with honour, have no particular claim to respect, they ask for mildness and forbearance; the accent of filial affection and solicitude finds the surest way to the aged heart. To a brother one may speak strongly and without reserve, if only a brotherly interest in his welfare clearly manifests itself. In dealing with a sister care must be taken not to offend her modesty: hence the pastor must approach the younger women, whom he may have sometimes to counsel on matters pertaining to their sex, with delicacy and purity (*ἁγνεία*,) and, to prevent scandal, the utmost circumspection must be observed. It is just as evident, however, that people who stand on a lower moral platform (the Cretans, for instance, had to be rebuked sharply) have to be differently treated than more advanced Christians.

These are the more important hints which these letters give respecting the oversight of souls. More exact instructions were not, indeed, necessary, as the apostle doubtless could credit his dearly beloved sons with that *tact* in dealing with individuals which is of the highest value in the sphere of pastoral labour.

(*To be concluded in our next Number.*)

ART. VII.—BISHOP BUTLER AND HIS SERMONS.

BY REV. C. A. STORK, D.D., BALTIMORE.

PART FIRST.

SO far is Bishop Butler from being a dry and repelling piece of pure intellectuality, an ingenious and skilful thinking machine, as many people imagine, he is one of the most interesting of men. I maintain that it is not possible to read his writings with any attention, and especially his less known writings, his sermons, his charge to the clergy of Durham, and not feel a strong attraction to the man. The simplicity, the earnestness, the candour, the gentleness, the moderation, the child-like freedom from airs and self-conceits, the genuineness of the man strike through the pages. You cannot but—I do not say love—but revere and feel drawn to this sincere, profound nature. You say—this is a true man: this man not only has somewhat to say, but in saying it he suffuses his matter with such a colour and warmth from his own large nature that I hardly know which more charms me, his thought or the communication of himself he makes in telling me his thought. It is no small gain to fall upon such a writer, one who makes truth charming by its contact with a noble and sweet personality. Great thinkers we have, and sweet attractive characters. But the thinkers too often are poor in character: they give us their thoughts with no taste of themselves, or with a taste acrid and vapid. And the attractive characters shed their sweetness over thoughts that are of no great value. But a great thinker, who at the same time has a large character and impresses his own personality indelibly on his thoughts—there are too few such in the world to pass over any one; surely too few to neglect such an one as Bishop Butler.

The more I study this writer the less account I make of what are considered his faults. Take for instance his style. I suppose we all have some recollections of the awkward sentence, the involved paragraphs, the roundabout way of putting things in the "Analogy." Sir James Mackintosh says that no other thinker so great was ever so bad a writer. And certainly no one would call Butler's a graceful or melodious style. But there are two points of view from which style may be judged. We may look at style as a form of art; as the expression of certain thoughts, imaginations, sentiments, according to fixed laws of rhythm, perspicuity, force. In this view the character, the personality of the writer go for nothing. If his work is perfect, we do not care what *he* is. His style is beautiful as being conformed to certain general principles of art: he personally has nothing to do with it. It would be just as beautiful if an angel brought it down from heaven. So Shakspere's happy line, felicitous thought, choice phrase, are in-

dependent, in the effect they produce on us, of any knowledge we have of the writer. He may be the poor, merry player of loose morals of the Globe theatre; or, for aught we care, he may be Lord Bacon with his gravity and seriousness himself. What is it to us what the man is who wrote Mark Antony's oration over the body of Caesar, or the poetry in Midsummer Night's Dream? Now, considered from this point of view, Bishop Butler's style is bad. It is always slow, often heavy, sometimes awkward and lumpish.

But there is another way of looking at style, viz.: as something inseparable from the writer; as expressive of mood, temper, character. As we read, we read between the lines: in the expression of the thought, in the qualifying touches, the reserves, the abandon, in the rejection of this word, the peculiar turn here, the reservation there, we see inseparably blended with the thought, the mood, the nature of the man who utters the thought. And we pronounce it a charming style because it is so plastic to the nature that uses it. We call it vital because a living man is given us in it. It has the quality of originality that is inseparable from every frank expression of individual character. A late writer, Pater, happily expresses this effect of style: it is, says he, "the impress of a personal quality, a profound expressiveness, what the French call *intimite*, by which is meant a subtler sense of originality, the seal on a man's work of what is most inward and peculiar in his moods and manner of apprehension: it is what we call expression carried to its highest intensity of degree." Now, this charm we find in Bishop Butler. His style expresses *him*; and the result is, it is impossible to separate this great man in one's thought of him from his writings. They are himself: they are transfused with his inmost mood; they are a visible, palpable embodiment of his strong and lofty character.

But, of course, this quality of style can be called charming only in a relative sense. It is charming when it expresses a large and noble and beautiful nature. But if the man is base, the soul petty, the nature acrid, then the expression will be correspondingly base, petty, acrid. A Swift, a Voltaire—the more intimately they express their own natures the more hateful the style: "the seal on a man's work of what is most inward and peculiar in his moods and manner of apprehension" would in their case be simply detestable.

Butler's style, then, I find charming, not for itself—though even in itself it not unfrequently has absolutely some high qualities—but for its expressiveness of the man. A large and serious nature, full of the gravity that comes from looking habitually out into eternity, with an ardour for truth only equalled by the patience and moderation of his scrutiny of that which offers itself for such, free from all self-consciousness, and genuine, sweet throughout

with the wholesomeness of an unselfishness and gentle temper—the style that lets us in to the prospect of such a character cannot but be charming.

But style, after all, is the least noticeable feature in this great man's work. It would not be worth while to speak of it at all but as an introduction to the character of the man and his way of looking at great questions.

I propose, then, to point out some features in Bishop Butler's writings that specially fit them to correct, to balance, to de-provincialise, so to speak, our modern habits of thought.

Let us pass over the "Analogy." It reveals less of the man than his sermons; and if it revealed more it would be hardly possible to rub off now the vulgarising associations with which the schoolroom has invested it. Of the sermons delivered during the seven years while Butler was preacher at the Rolls Chapel fifteen only are published. It is no great bulk of matter; but it may be doubted if so much weighty matter was ever put into a volume of sermons before or since. It is to these discourses, with six other sermons preached upon public occasions, together with the charge delivered to the clergy of the Diocese of Durham, that I would call attention.

The first thing that strikes us in these sermons is the *largeness of tone.* I recognise that this is a vague expression. What, it will be said, is meant by "largeness" in such a connection? Well, perhaps it is not easy to define; but it may be possible to suggest a meaning. Apart from any sharply defined quality in a work of imagination or intellectual construction, as wit, or brilliancy, or acumen, or profundity, we are sensible of a general atmosphere that belongs to the whole production. The writer, we say to ourselves, looks at things in a small way; he sees only one side; he is a pettifogger; everything is belittled under his treatment: or, on the other hand, we say, he has a broad outlook; he sees things on a great scale; he takes us out into the open air and makes us feel the vastness of the great heavens and earth. This sort of atmosphere may be felt in a work that apparently admits of no great expansion of thought. Homer writes of the squabbles of the Greeks and Trojans and the absurd interferences of a very petty lot of celestials; and yet he has this large tone. It broadens and lifts up one's sense of things to read him. Madame Dacier, his French translator, said that after reading the Iliad everything was magnified: the men she met on the street seemed ten feet high. The largeness is not in the subject, but in the treatment; and that we refer at last to the largeness in the man. Such is the effect produced by Bishop Butler. Whether he writes of Compassion, or Self-Deceit, or Resentment, or the Love of God, the subject broadens and deepens under his hand. A certain grandeur

invests the thoughts as they arise. The greatness of God, the dignity of man, the sweetness and excellence of piety, the miseries of sin, all appear in a strangely impressive light: the old figures come before us as the figures of life came upon the Greek stage, uplifted, made heroic, with a great carriage that overawes and expands the sensibilities. It is not that we are told anything new: but the old truth in the larger utterance has the wonder and majesty of a fresh revelation.

Take, for instance, the Sermon on Balaam, "Wonderful," as Dr. Taylor, in his late lectures at Yale, rightly calls it. The fact that Balaam deceived himself and put out the light in his own soul is obvious and trite enough; but as we see the secret workings of the prophet's heart unveiled beneath this writer's examination, there is an effect of solemnity and awe from the greatness of the style. The petty devices and small subterfuges of Balaam are no longer petty: we recognise in them types of a vast law of evil. Behind the false prophet we seem to see a vast army of the self-deceived. What a grand and impressive treatment is here:

"In all common ordinary cases we see intuitively at first view what is our duty, what is the honest part. This is the ground of the observation, that the first thought is often the best. In these cases doubt and deliberation is itself dishonesty; as it was in Balaam upon the second message. That which is called considering what is our duty in a particular case is very often nothing but endeavouring to explain it away. Thus those courses which, if men would fairly attend to the dictates of their own consciences, they would see to be corruption, excess, oppression, uncharitableness; these are refined upon—things were so and so circumstantiated—great difficulties are raised about fixing bounds and degrees: and thus every moral obligation whatever may be evaded. Here is scope, I say, for an unfair mind to explain away every moral obligation to itself. * * * * *

"That great numbers are in this way deceiving themselves is certain. There is scarce a man in the world who has entirely got over all regards, hopes, and fears, concerning God and a future state; and these apprehensions in the generality, bad as we are, prevail in considerable degrees: yet men will and can be wicked, with calmness and thought; we see they are. There must therefore be some method of making it sit a little easy upon their minds; which, in the superstitious, is those indulgences and atonements before mentioned, and this self-deceit of another kind in persons of another character. And both these proceed from a certain unfairness of mind, a peculiar inward dishonesty; the direct contrary to that simplicity which our Saviour recommends, under the notion of *becoming little children*, as a necessary qualification for our entering into the kingdom of heaven."

What a horizon suddenly presses out before us as we read those two clauses, "in these cases doubt and deliberation is itself dis-

honesty,"—and "these proceed from a certain unfairness of mind, a peculiar inward dishonesty; the direct contrary to that simplicity which our Saviour recommends, under the notion of "*becoming little children.*" Those two so far apart, Balaam the double-minded Midianite, and the guileless children on whom the Saviour laid his hands, are suddenly brought into connection, and between them we see yawning the wide and deep gulf that separates deceit from simplicity.

In the same style, but even nobler, are the two Sermons on the Love of God. Particular passages can give no sense of this noble effect. One must follow the train of the writer's thought, pass with him from topic to topic, and take in the breadth and sweep of meditations, to be made sensible of the greatness of the tone. Take one or two extracts, if only to show the moderation of tone with which the effect of largeness is produced:—

"Resignation to the will of God is the whole of piety: it includes in it all that is good, and is a source of the most settled quiet and composure of mind. There is the general principle of submission in our nature. Man is not so constituted as to desire things, and be uneasy in the want of them, in proportion to their known value; many other considerations come in to determine the degrees of desire; particularly whether the advantage we take a view of be within the sphere of our rank. Who ever felt uneasiness upon observing any of the advantages brute creatures have over us? And yet it is plain they have several. It is the same with respect to creatures of a superior order. * * * Thus is human nature formed to compliance, yielding, submission of temper. We find the principles of it within us; and every one exercises it towards some objects or other; *i.e.*, feels it with regard to some persons, and some circumstances. Now, this is an excellent foundation of a reasonable and religious resignation. Nature teaches and inclines us to take up with our lot: the consideration, that the course of things is unalterable, hath a tendency to quiet the mind under it, to beget a submission of temper to it. But when we can add, that this unalterable course is appointed and continued by infinite wisdom and goodness, how absolute should be our submission, how entire our trust and dependence!

"This would reconcile us to our condition; prevent all the supernumerary troubles arising from imagination, distant fears, impatience; all uneasiness, except that which necessarily arises from the calamities themselves we may be under. How many of our cares should we by this means be disburdened of! Cares not properly our own, how apt soever they may be to intrude upon us, and we to admit them; the anxieties of expectations, solicitude about success and disappointment, which in truth are none of our concern. How open to every gratification would that mind be which was clear of these incumbrances!

"Our resignation to the will of God may be said to be perfect when our will is lost and resolved up into His; when we rest in His will as

our End, as being itself most just and right and good. And where is the impossibility of such an affection to what is just and right and good, such a loyalty of heart to the Governor of the Universe, as shall prevail over all sinister indirect desires of our own? Neither is this at bottom anything more than faith and honesty and fairness of mind; in a more enlarged sense, indeed, than those words are commonly used. * * * * Thus we might acquaint ourselves with God and be at peace. This is piety and religion in the strictest sense, considered as an habit of mind: an habitual sense of God's presence with us; being affected towards Him, as present, in the manner His superior nature requires from such a creature as man: this is to walk with God."

Again:—

"Let us then suppose a man entirely disengaged from business and pleasure, sitting down alone and at leisure, to reflect upon himself and his own condition of being. He would immediately feel that he was by no means complete of himself, but totally insufficient for his own happiness. One may venture to affirm that every man hath felt this, whether he hath again reflected upon it or not. It is feeling this deficiency that they are unsatisfied with themselves which makes men look out for assistance from abroad, and which has given rise to various kinds of amusements, altogether needless any otherwise than as they serve to fill up the blank spaces of time, and so hinder their feeling this deficiency and being uneasy with themselves. * * * If it appears that the amusements which men usually pass their time in are so far from coming up to or answering our notions and desires of happiness, or good, that they are really no more than what they are commonly called, somewhat to pass away the time; *i. e.*, somewhat which serves to turn us aside from, and prevent our attending to, this our internal poverty and want; if they serve only, or chiefly, to suspend instead of satisfying our conceptions and desires of happiness; if the want remains, and we have found out little more than barely the means of making it less sensible; then are we still to seek for somewhat to be an adequate supply to it. It is plain that there is a capacity in the nature of man which neither riches, nor honours, nor sensual gratification, nor anything in this world can perfectly fill up or satisfy: there is a deeper and more essential want than any of these things can be the supply of. Yet surely there is a possibility of somewhat which may fill up all our capacities of happiness; somewhat in which our souls may find rest; somewhat which may be to us that satisfying good we are inquiring after. * * * In the coolest way of consideration, without either the heat of fanciful enthusiasm, or the warmth of real devotion, nothing is more certain than that an infinite Being may himself be, if He pleases, the supply to all the capacities of our nature. All the common enjoyments of life are from the faculties He hath endued us with, and the objects He hath made suitable to them. He may himself be to us infinitely more than all these: He may be to us all that we want. As our understanding can contemplate itself, and our affections be exercised upon themseles by reflection, so may each be

employed in the same manner upon any other mind: and since the Supreme Mind, the Author and Cause of all things, is the highest possible object to Himself, He may be an adequate supply to all the faculties of our souls; a subject to our understanding, and an object to our affections."

And again:—

"To Conclude: Let us suppose a person tired with care and sorrow, and the repetition of vain delights which fill up the round of life, sensible that everything here below in its best estate is altogether vanity. Suppose him to feel that deficiency of human nature before taken notice of, and to be convinced that God alone was the adequate supply to it. What could be more applicable to a good man in this state of mind, or better express his present wants and distant hopes, his passage through this world as a progress towards a state of perfection, than the following passages in the devotion of the royal prophet? They are plainly in an higher and more proper sense applicable to this than they could be to anything else. *I have seen an end of all perfection. Whom have I in Heaven but Thee? And there is none upon earth that I desire in comparison of Thee. My flesh and my heart faileth: but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever. Like as the hart desireth the water-brooks, so longeth my soul after Thee, O God.*" * * *

This, it seems to me, is truly great writing. The sense of amplitude in the thought, of profundity of feeling, of reserve-power in the writer, of the vastness of reach in the subject that impresses one, is expressed only by the word I have used above; —this is *largeness* of tone. True, there is nothing startling here: very possibly it may all seem tame. It will seem as if so much more might be said; as if a stronger statement were needed,—something more fiery and demonstrative. But it is always so in what is really great; we are astonished to find it so calm. The reticence, the reserve, the refusal to go into superlatives, to give the reins to feeling, all this that is so truly great seems weak and cold. I say it may *seem* so. If so, something of course is to be laid to the account of the isolation of the passage,—we do not see it in its connections; but a great deal more to the fact that our mental palate, accustomed to the modern style of intensity, of forced brilliancy, is, so to speak, jaded and insensible to any but the most pungent flavors. Always in reading an author who presumptively is a great writer, if we find him dull we are to ask ourselves,—Is the dulness in him or in me? When a man has listened for a long time to trumpets and cymbals and tom-toms he will have no ear to speak of for anything moderate.

Now, accompanying this largeness of tone in Bishop Butler is a *great moderation.* He is always moderate: there is no straining for effects, no beating the bushes for striking metaphors, no flourish of trumpets, nothing of the blare and blaze that is the mark of our modern style. A little farce has been written lately

to satirize the simple faith of this age in the virtues of advertising. One is justified in dealing with such a subject in a satirical way: for it *is* an extravagantly advertising age. If a man has a capital, say of 10,000 dols., he expends 4,000 dols. on his stock and material in business, and the other 6,000 dols. in blowing trumpets on the corners of the street, and in placarding dead-walls with puffs of his wares; and his friends look on and approve his sagacity. And this method has been applied not only to business, but to letters, to art, to religion. The art of writing consists now not in furnishing great thoughts for mental quickening, but in advertising handsomely whatever thoughts one may happen to have. To blow trumpets and stick up great blazing placards along one's paragraphs, to catch the crowd and make them stare and wonder, this is the modern conception of style. Like all evils of the character, it grows by growing. Every fresh writer must be more brilliant and amazing than the one that preceded him. An author is nothing if not smart: he must make a sensation; fillip the jaded mind with something more witty, more *bizarre* than anything that has gone before. So we plunge from one depth of extravagance to another; from the antitheses of a Macaulay to the grotesques of a Carlyle; from a Beecher to a Talmage. How wearisome our popular writers with their ceaseless strain for the astonishing, the titillating, grow. Now the cure for this lies simply in retracing our steps. We do not need writers that are more bright, but, if one may say so, more dull. Nature is full of neutral moderate tints, with here and there at great intervals a high light. The palate when healthy craves low-toned flavors, with only now and then a dish of spice or pungency. And the healthy condition of mind is not one that calls continually for novelties, sensations of a high degree of intensity. The fine style of this age, with its vivid startling manner, its high colours and dramatizations and personalities, its pungent allusions, and the everlasting story invented or applied to point a moral, is thoroughly unwholesome. In such a crash and whirl, and blare and blaze, it is no longer possible to think calmly, to weigh judicially, to absorb any great thought. Style now is feverish; it destroys the balance of judgment in writer and reader: everything goes by great oscillations, now to this side, then to that. As one describes it, no man says anything any more, he screams it.

It is healthful, then, I say, to turn to one like Bishop Butler, who writes moderately. What a calming, enlarging, soothing sense of greatness and severity, of vast height above and immeasurable reaches out on every hand, does it give one to read these pages after a diet of our popular writers and speakers. It is like going out under the vault of night and looking up at the stars after watching fire-works at a garden party.

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Words of Comfort for Bereaved Parents. Edited by WILLIAM LOGAN. With an introduction by the Rev. John Ker, D.D., Glasgow. Ninth edition — 22nd thousand. London: James Nisbet and Co., Berners-street, 1877.

NOT one of the smallest benefits which Christians derive from personal sorrow is that it opens within their hearts a well-spring of sympathy for others who are suffering. Whilst the sympathy thus acquired elevates their own character by making them more like Him who is "touched with the feeling of our infirmities," it fits them for administering comfort to those that mourn. No one is so well able, other things being equal, to apply with skill and tenderness the healing balm to the wounded spirit as he into whose own soul the iron has entered. And doubtless our Heavenly Father causes some of His children to pass through severe trial that they may be able to comfort them who are in any trouble by the comfort wherewith they themselves are comforted of the Lord. The circumstances which gave rise to this book, which has been a means of comfort to thousands in all parts of the world, supplies a noteworthy illustration. Having, when smarting under the loss of an interesting little girl of his own, found solace and healing in the kind words addressed to him by sympathising friends, the thought suggested itself to the author that there were many suffering as severely as he, but who were less favourably circumstanced. For the benefit of such he transcribed a few passages from the letters he had received, and sent them to a Christian journal, afterwards publishing them in a four-paged tract. Encouraged by the reception which this little messenger of comfort met with, he addressed himself to the congenial task of examining the literature of the subject, the result of which was the publication of a tractate of 72 pages, which has grown by the addition of new material to a handsome volume of over 520 pages. The present edition is enriched with several new papers, and a well-written introduction by Dr. Ker, of Glasgow. The general excellence of the work and its suitability to the end for which it was issued are attested by the demand for a ninth edition. We don't, however, marvel at its popularity. There are few who do not need such "Words of Comfort" as this book contains—scarcely any whose homes have not been invaded by death.

"There is no flock, however watched and tended,
But one dead lamb is there!
There is no fireside, howsoe'er defended,
But has one vacant chair!"

And to those multitudes of mourners this book has something to say which will tend to relieve the pain which they suffer and lift the darkness in which their spirits are shrouded. It draws its comfort from the only source that can really yield it—the teachings of the Christian religion. The views which it gives of the pity of our

Heavenly Father, and the sympathy of Christ; the disciplinary purposes of sorrow, and its final issue, when patiently borne, in praise and honour and glory; and particularly its assurances of the safety and happiness of our dear departed ones, are here presented in almost every conceivable form by copious extracts from some of our foremost writers and preachers. From the reading of this book, not only may those for whom it is specially intended gain comfort and healing, but all may derive those larger views of the meaning and purpose of life which elevate the mind and strengthen the heart.

The Economy of Thought. By J. Hughes. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 27, Paternoster-row.

We frankly admit we have not read this book through, and as frankly do we confess that we have no disposition to undertake the task. However, we have read sufficient to satisfy us that no particular aid is to be obtained from Mr. Hughes in solving the profound and interesting questions he ventures to discuss. Evidently he has read extensively in the works of writers on psychology, logic, and metaphysics, but that he has inwardly digested this extensive reading is more than doubtful. We perceive from the title-page of this volume that Mr. Hughes is no novice in the way of authorship, and this considerably increases our surprise. Several works are named as having proceeded from his pen, and it is intimated there are more than those mentioned. Looking at the title of this work and scanning over the list of cognate studies which he had given to the public, we anticipated a real pleasure, but met with a sad disappointment. That there is much information scattered throughout the volume we readily admit, but that it can be considered a contribution to philosophy in any proper sense is in our judgment altogether out of question.

It will of course be necessary for us to state briefly the grounds upon which our estimate of this volume rests, and the evidence which satisfies us of the validity of these grounds. The work is marred by obscurity of statement, obscurity of definition, and a very faulty slip-shod composition; and more serious faults than these cannot, as we think, appear in a volume devoted to the consideration of the "Economy of Thought." Mr. Hughes is careful enough to state that "It is common for reviewers and people to speak of a high work of thought as obscure and wanting in clearness, whereas the fault is in most cases on their side, they are below and behind it; they are neither willing nor perhaps able, by reason of habit or something else, to devote the patience and concentrate their powers to cultivate the thought required to understand it." Well, this may be so, but we venture to hope it is not "common." Charges of obscurity are of course easily made, but if they are not sustained by evidence we judge the reading public will know how to value them. It is hardly necessary for an author to be beforehand with his reviewers by appraising in this way the value of any verdict that may be given upon his work.

First, then, as to obscurity of statement. In the preface, after remarking that there are some "works hard of understanding to all of us," and others requiring long and persistent effort to master them, this sentence occurs: "No one can understand things beyond their knowledge, power,

resources, and perseverance; in the degree these are possessed and used our understanding apprehends things, and by repeated communion with those things we do not at first understand, which is both a condition, and needful to gain strength and knowledge." Now, there may be a meaning here somewhere, but we think we are justified in calling the sentence obscure. On page 26, where reference is made to the constancy, continuousness, or abidingness of thought, it is said that "It appears to be the inherent quality of thought to think as much as that of extension is a quality of matter." We have not been accustomed to regard thinking as a quality of thought in the same sense as extension is a quality of matter. "Every thought," says Mr. Hughes, on page 32, "is a factor of multiplication, competent of producing other thoughts without end; it is not only a factor of thought, but also of other things in the want and use of society." Again we say there may be something meant here, but what it is we are puzzled to know. Here are two or three favourite forms of expression—"The present age is characteristic of two extreme tendencies," "Thought is a thing characteristic of many sides," "Thought is characteristic of mystery and simplicity in unity." We subjoin two other short paragraphs as instances of the obscurity of statement of which we complain.

"Thought in itself is but a theory. This may be good or bad, just as the qualities, and the correctness and comprehension, or the contrary of the thought may be. Thought in itself is but conceiving, judging, reasoning, which acts are nothing but pointing out things as they are, or drawing lines how they should be; they are things in their forms and not in their application to practice. Thought is a plan or map in the mind; the working out of this formal plan is the practical part, which is the end of it; moreover the result depends upon the theory, and is subordinate and second to it." Page 33.

"Mental concentration is another thing requisite in the production of thought. We are conscious before a concept can be formed of an object, and before we judge of it and reason about it, there is a certain degree of calling together the powers of understanding and certain sensibilities before these things can be done, hence before an act of thought is possible about an object." Page 36.

Second — obscurity of definition. Something of this appears in the quotations already given. We add the following: "Thought, in brief, is a spiritual utterance in the lips of the understanding, known only in itself to the consciousness of the thinker, and expressed through various symbols, as shrieks, gestures, words, &c., to others. It is a secret act produced by the reason and will, which are the right and left hands of the mind." Page 8. When we turn to page 26 we are informed that "It does not appear that simple thinking, as such, is under the control of the will; indeed the will is directed and governed, when acting intelligently, much by thought itself."

In defining and distinguishing thought "from other things," to which chapter ii. is devoted, thought is marked off from perception, or perception marked off from thought, for it may be put either way. Thought it is distinctly said, is not perception, and we presume this statement may be put conversely. Perception is said to

be a condition of thought, not thought itself. On turning to chapter iv., where "The characteristics of thought" are discussed, it is explicitly affirmed in page 32 that perception is thought looking and recognising an object. The term is obviously used in different senses, and there is nothing to indicate when the usage passes from the one sense to the other.

As evidence of the author's faulty, slip-shod style of composition we will just give one sentence, though we could easily give many more. It is the second sentence in the preface. The author acknowledges his indebtedness "to the suggestions and stimulating influence of great thinkers and writers," though he informs us that "he has not read and studied their works for the sake of their outward forms and expressions to re-produce them again; he rather wished to imbibe their spirit and partake of their power by communing with their great souls, under the veil of their symbolical utterances." Then follows the sentence we wish to quote—

"In this sense the Author is under greater obligation to many illustrious philosophers and writers than he can express in words, whom he neither names nor quotes in this volume; his obligation to them is that of a free man, and not that of a mechanical slave; they were studied in the same spirit as they would have wished it, with independent respect for their authors and for the sake of the truth they contain, and the energy obtained by communing with the authors themselves through their works, in order to seek and promulgate truth for himself."

Now, we venture the opinion that this sentence is slovenly and slip-shod, and it can be paralleled again and again in the course of the chapters we have read. Such a style of writing admits of no excuse, and an author who indulges in it need not be surprised if he is taken to task and his work subjected to rather severe comment. Though we are led to believe that in such cases to permit an author to speak in his own person is the severest censure that can be inflicted upon him.

As we have stated, this volume of Mr. Hughes' contains much information; but, weighted as it is with such faults as we have instanced, it is hardly the book from which we should be disposed to seek the information it contains. Since the same knowledge can be drawn from more agreeable sources, to these sources we at any rate are inclined to turn.

THE

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR.

ART. I.—CHARLES G. FINNEY.

BY THE REV. THOMAS CROMPTON, CANADA.

Memoirs of Charles G. Finney, written by himself. New York, A. S. Barnes and Co. 1876.

WHEN seventy-five years of age Professor Finney wrote the above-named book. It is not an autobiography, strictly speaking, inasmuch as it contains only outlines of the great religious revivals in which he was a prominent actor, and of so much of the circumstances and events of his private life as seemed necessary in order to an intelligible account of the way in which he was led in those great religious movements.

The trustees of Oberlin College and other friends urged Mr. Finney to write a narrative of the general facts of the revivals with which he had been connected, especially in regard to those that occurred in central New York and elsewhere from 1821 and onward for several years, because they had been much misrepresented and opposed. He hesitatingly addressed himself to this work a few years before he finished his course on earth; and at his death left the manuscript in the possession of his family. Becoming aware of this fact, many friends requested its publication, and in compliance with this request his children presented the MS. to Oberlin College.

We think no one acquainted with Professor Charles G. Finney's character and life will question the statement that he was, in many respects, an extraordinary man. Possessed of a cool, penetrating, and independent judgment; being of untiring industry and application in his habits, thorough in his convictions and in his religious and ministerial life, it is not to be wondered at that he became prominent in the special vocation to which he devoted himself; and now that he is gone to his rest and reward, Charles G. Finney stands out before our eyes symmetrical as far as human nature in its best types can be expected to appear.

Mr. Finney's name is associated with what may be regarded as a new era in the history of the Church of Christ in the United States of America, particularly in relation to revivals of religion; his name also is connected with the development of views of Christian doctrine that were uncommon and deemed unorthodox among the Churches to which he became united. By a large portion of the Church, especially in the early part of his career, he was regarded as an innovator both in doctrine and measures. He certainly did adopt what to many were new measures in promoting revivals of religion both in the churches and among the masses; and he assailed many old forms of theological thought, stating the doctrines of the Gospel in new forms of expression.

His originality, his manly Christian integrity, his self abnegation, his repudiation of what appeared to him unsound, however conventional and labelled as orthodox, his patient courage and zeal in the work to which he believed God had called him, when opposed, misrepresented, and spoken against as an innovator and enthusiast, the theological views of which he became the firm, quiet, but persevering advocate: these circumstances, together with his splendid usefulness, place Mr. Finney among the special men who, under God, have been raised up for special work in different periods of the Church's history. Mr. Finney's providential sphere appears to have been the removal of theoretic and practical obstacles that were in the way of evangelical work; and the initiation of unthought-of means for a much greater success of the Gospel than had been realized in prior times.

Mr. Finney was born in Warren, Connecticut, Aug. 29, 1792. Soon after his birth his parents removed to a part of New York State which was then, to a great extent, a wilderness. Among the new settlers there were few religious books and little preaching of the Gospel. Common schools, however, were established when the settlement was in its infant state. The settlers being mostly from New England, they cared somewhat for the education of their families. In these circumstances young Finney enjoyed the privilege of common school education till he himself was deemed capable of teaching. His parents were not professors of religion, and he seldom heard a sermon except from some travelling minister who now and then found his way into that wild region. The ignorance of some of these visiting preachers was such that, on certain occasions after meeting was over, the people indulged in irrepressible laughter at the strange mistakes they made while holding forth. But, notwithstanding such mistakes, it was doubtless much better that God's Word was proclaimed in their blundering fashion than not at all. It would indeed have been a sad fate for great numbers of settlers and their families, in the early times of the settlement of the vast woodlands of the United States and

Canada, if they had been entirely left without the Gospel till an educated ministry was established among them.

Until about twenty years of age Mr. Finney enjoyed few religious privileges, when, becoming a resident in New Jersey, near New York City, he taught school and studied as best he could, after which he went, for a season, to a high school, and meditated going to Yale College. However, his preceptor, who was a graduate of Yale, informed him he could easily accomplish the whole curriculum pursued at Yale in two years, while it would take four years to graduate at college. This resulted in his failure of college life. Notwithstanding this circumstance, which we are not prepared to say was to be regretted in his case, he afterwards acquired some knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; but he never became possessed of such knowledge of the ancient languages as to think himself able, independently, to criticise the English translation of the Bible.

Mr. Finney next became a student of law in 1818, at Adams, Jefferson County, New York State. Up to this time his religious privileges had been stinted. He had never lived in a praying community, except during the time of attending the High School in New England; and even then the prevailing type of religion around that locality was of such a nature as not to recommend itself to his judgment. In Adams he first sat under an educated ministry, that of the Rev. George Gale, who had been a student at Princeton, and whose mind had become replete with the theology of that school of the prophets called *hyper-Calvinism*.

Mr. Finney was now twenty-six years of age, possessed of an active mind, sharpened by legal studies. Though Mr. Gale was regarded as being highly orthodox, young Finney was unable to gain much instruction from his preaching. On account of his small opportunities in past years of receiving Biblical instruction, he needed to be led to the reason of things in theology, as in other matters. He longed for the doctrines to which he listened from the pulpit to be proved, and not merely assumed. Mr. Gale preached on doctrines as if his congregation were theologians. Here commenced the *plying* of young Finney's keen and searching intellect on theological subjects. He had no doctrinal prepossessions, no creed, no theological theories; but, unbiased and ignorant of creeds, his thoughts took range, adopting an analysing process. He wished to go to first principles, as he had to do in law. His was not a mind to be satisfied with wholesale assumptions, but called for a similar process in relation to Bible doctrines as that to which he was accustomed in the study of law. In studying elementary law he says, "I found the old authors frequently quoting the Scriptures, and referring especially to the Mosaic Institutes as authority for many of the great principles of

common law. This excited my curiosity so much that I went and purchased a Bible, the first that I ever owned; and whenever I found a reference by the law authors to the Bible, I turned to the passage and consulted it in its connections. This soon led to my taking a new interest in the Bible; and I read and meditated on it much more than I had ever done before in my life, however much of it I had not understood."

A free intercourse was established between Mr. Finney and the minister, and in the interviews held he sometimes criticised Mr. Gale's sermons rather severely, stating his objections to some of the views he had broached in the pulpit. From these conversations he perceived the minister's mind was mystified, and that he had not accurately defined to himself what was meant by the terms he often used. "What did he mean by repentance? Was it a mere feeling of sorrow for sin? Was it altogether a *passive* state of mind, or did it involve a *voluntary* element? If it was a change of mind, in what respect was it a change of mind? What did he mean by the term regeneration? What did such language mean when applied to a spiritual change? What did he mean by faith? Was it merely an intellectual state? Was it merely a conviction that the things stated in the Gospel were true? What did he mean by sanctification? Did it involve any physical change in the subject, or any physical influence on the part of God? I could not tell, nor did he seem to me to know himself in what sense he used these and similar terms."

Thus was the inquiring mind of Mr. Finney stimulated, while the minister's given information failed to satisfy him. His mind as yet had not been fully made up as to the truth of the Gospel. But he became restless, and on the supposition that the Bible was true, religion was of too much importance to allow him to rest in uncertainty on the momentous subject. He became restlessly convinced that he was not in a state of mind to go to heaven should he die. He saw something in religion of infinite importance, and it soon was with him a settled fact that "if the soul was immortal, he needed a great change in his inward state to be prepared for heaven." He attended the prayer meeting that was held weekly, but he was struck with the fact that from the utterances of those who prayed they did not regard their prayers as being answered. He heard them pray repeatedly for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and as often confess they did not receive answers for what they asked. They exhorted each other to pray earnestly, and do their duty, and stated that if they did the Spirit would be poured out, and the impenitent would be converted; but at the same time he heard them confess that they were making no progress in securing that for which they prayed, and hence he did not obtain any more satisfaction with regard to the subject of prayer

from what he saw and heard than from the doctrinal preaching of Mr. Gale. He contrasted the state of things relative to prayer with what the Word of God said on the subject, "Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For every one that asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth, and to him that knocketh it shall be opened." He also read the words of Christ that God is more willing to give His Holy Spirit to them that ask Him than earthly parents are to give good gifts to their children. Here was something inexplicable to him, and it seemed that the Bible did not at all accord with facts before his eyes, and for a time he thought it would almost drive him to scepticism. He was once asked by some of the church if he did not desire they should pray for him, when he said, No, because he did not see God answered their prayers. "Suppose," he replied, "I need to be prayed for, for I am conscious that I am a sinner; but I do not see that it will do me any good for you to pray for me, for you are continually asking, but do not receive. You have been praying for a revival of religion ever since I have been in Adams, and yet you have it not. You have prayed enough since I have attended these meetings to have prayed the devil out of Adams, if there had been any virtue in your prayers; but here you are, praying on and complaining still."

Pursuing further the reading of the Bible, the thought occurred that the reason why the prayers of the church were not answered was, they did not comply with the revealed conditions upon which God had promised to answer prayer. They had not faith in the sense *of expecting* God to give the things for which they prayed. This thought, though it lay in his mind in a confused form of questioning, yet it relieved him as to his queries on the truth of the Bible, and after struggling for two or three years in the manner named, he became convinced that notwithstanding the mystification that might be in his own mind, in the mind of the pastor, or in the mind of the church, the Bible was the word of God. In 1821 his conversion took place. Having been clearly satisfied as to the Bible being true, he says, "I was brought face to face with the question whether I should *accept* Christ as presented in the Gospel or pursue a worldly course of life." At that time he had no idea that his mind was the subject of Divine operations. He did not think of the office and influence of the Holy Ghost on the human heart, but he appears to have followed his convictions, on the whole, with great sincerity from stage to stage, while a stranger to the fact of the power of the Spirit of God accompanying the truth of His word to his conscience, and he *yielded the will power*, which God demands of every sinner when he says, "Turn ye at my reproof. Look unto me and be ye saved. Hear, and your souls shall live. Let the wicked forsake

his ways, and turn unto the Lord, and He will have mercy upon him." Mr Finney had been accustomed to hear in preaching, prayer, and the conversation of Christians that man had *no moral ability*, that utter impotency was his lot even with respect to the conditions of salvation, and that though God calls him to exercise choice, to acquiesce in the proposals of Gospel grace, to repent and be converted—convert himself by turning to God with his heart unto righteousness, and by belief of the truth; yet Mr. Finney had heard from Christians around nothing about man as a moral agent being endowed with capacity and power by voluntary act to save himself or remain unsaved, according to his *acceptance* or *rejection* of a God-provided salvation; but he had a thousand times heard of the sinner as fettered, chained, doomed, being under a tremendous weight of depravity and guilt, from which he had not the *least* power to free himself by his own volitions and voluntary acts. Mr. Finney clearly saw afterwards in what an absurd and unjust light the only system of theology with which he was then acquainted exhibited both God and man. As to man, he was spoken of as constitutionally depraved; his guilt as an actual sinner resulting from this involuntary depravity; his every act *necessarily* sinful; that he is without ability to cease to do evil, though God's will is made known to him and he is the subject of enlightenment; and that when he is converted, it is by the power of the Holy Spirit absolutely and entirely, irrespective of any willing acquiescence with the Spirit's teachings and drawings. Thus man is involuntarily depraved, doomed to sin, and doomed to total helplessness with respect to his salvation; and yet he is *blamed* for this imposed sinfulness, and over his unconverted soul there hangs an eternal curse because he *remains in a state* from which he has no power to free himself, even in the way of a reception, by voluntary act, of the great Gospel salvation. And as to God, He is not so good and gracious as men are towards a fellow-man struggling for life, by putting certain available means within his power through the voluntary use of which he may be saved.

The teachings of the Bible relative to man's power to cease from sin and obey God found a lodgment in Mr. Finney's heart. By the force of his own intellect and moral sense he felt he had moral ability, the right use of which was a duty. "On a Sabbath in the autumn of 1821," he says, "I *made up my mind* that I *would settle* the question of my soul's salvation at once. I resolved, as far as possible, to avoid all business and everything that would divert my attention, and give myself to the work of securing the salvation of my soul." A very great deal is comprehended in this. He saw himself lost through sin; he felt the harrassings of guilt in his conscience; he was sensible of a deep abyss of want in his soul, and he knew that the light, awakenings,

convictions, and sensibility of which he was the concious subject would not have had existence without the influence of the Divine Word and Spirit; but having these, he knew also that there were certain duties to be performed on his part necessary to secure his personal salvation; and that these were in perfect harmony with the instructions of his nature in reference to this all-important matter. Hence he said, "*I made up my mind that I would settle* the question of my soul's salvation at once."

Mr. Finney found after he had come to this decision that he was proud without knowing it. He had hitherto felt little concerned respecting the opinions of others; but he now ascertained that he was unwilling to have any one know that he was seeking salvation. He had usually had his Bible lying among the law-books on the table, and had never thought of being ashamed to be seen reading it; but now he kept it much out of sight. He also felt unwilling to converse with the minister or any other person respecting religion. He was ashamed on one hand to let them know how he felt, and on the other he was afraid they would *misdirect* him. Early on the Wednesday morning after the Sabbath on which he had decided to accept Christ the inquiry rose within him, as if a voice had spoken, saying, "What are you waiting for? Did you not promise to give your heart to God? And what are you trying to do? Are you endeavouring to work out a righteousness of your own? Just at this moment," says he, "the whole question of Gospel salvation opened to me in a manner most marvellous at the time." Feeling a great desire to be alone, that he might lift his voice in prayer, he went into the woods, and about a quarter of a mile from the road he found a place where some large trees had fallen across each other leaving an open space between. There, away from human eyes and ears he made a kind of closet and tried to pray. He wanted to give full vent to his soul in audible prayer, but lo! he was dumb, and felt as if he had nothing to say to God. He remembered having said when turning into the woods, "I will give my heart to God, or I will never come down from there." His soul was verging on despair; and he felt ready to reproach himself for the apparent rashness of the vow he had made. Just at that moment, thinking he heard some one approach, he opened his eyes to see if it were so, when lo! there and then the pride of his heart stood before him, as if given by revelation, as the great difficulty in the way of being saved. The thought penetrated him that it was a great sin for a degraded sinner like himself to be afraid of any other sinner seeing him on his knees endeavouring to make his peace with God. These words came into his mind with a flood of light, "Then shall ye go and pray unto Me and I will hearken unto you. Then shall ye seek Me and find Me when ye shall search for Me with all your heart."

He seized hold of them with the grasp of faith. He says, "I had intellectually believed the Bible before, but never had the truth been in my mind that faith was a *voluntary trust*, instead of an intellectual state." He cried, "Lord, I take Thee at Thy Word. Now Thou knowest that I do search for Thee with all my heart, and Thou hast promised to hear me." The question was settled that he could perform his vow. Other promises he took as infallible truths, the assertions of God, and they were to him unspeakably precious. He was happy in the very thought of them. But even now the question of his being converted had not so much as risen in his thoughts; and while brushing his way through the wood from the place of retirement he emphatically said, "If I am converted, I will preach the Gospel."

The repose of his mind was so great, after leaving the woods, that he could not describe it in words. Profound tranquility had taken possession of his soul; but he was concerned deeply because his convictions were gone. "How is this," he exclaimed, "that I cannot arouse any sense of guilt as great a sinner as I am?" This was a deep mystery to him. He could not explain it. He involuntarily began to weep; he tried to suppress his tears, but could not; he still wept for very gladness and joy. In the midst of all this he had no true idea of being converted; but resolved he would not abandon religion though his convictions had gone. Being left alone in the law office, he rushed into a back room, the utterance of his heart being, "I want to pour out my soul to God." While there, he says, "It seemed as if I met the Lord Jesus face to face. It did not occur to me then, nor till sometime afterwards, that it was *wholly a mental state.* I have always regarded it as a most remarkable state of mind, for it seemed a reality that He stood before me. I wept like a child, and made such confessions as I could with my choked utterance." When this mental state had subsided—he having no special leanings to superstition—and entering into the front office and about to take a seat, he says, "I received a mighty baptism of the Holy Ghost. Without any expectation of it, without having the thought in my mind that *there was such a thing* for me, without the recollection that *I had heard the thing mentioned* by any person in the world, the Holy Spirit descended upon me in such a manner that it seemed to go through me body and soul. Indeed, it seemed to come in waves and waves of liquid love, for I could not express it in any other way. It seemed like the very breath of God." * * * * "I wept aloud with joy and love. I do not know, but I should say, I literally bellowed out the unutterable gushings of my heart. These waves came over me, and over me, and over me, one after another, until I recollect I cried out, 'I shall die if these waves continue to pass over me.' I said, 'Lord I cannot bear any more;' yet I had no fear

of death." On the following morning the Spirit seemed to say to him, "Will you doubt? Will you doubt?" He cried, "No! I will not doubt, I cannot doubt." The subject had become so deared to his mind that, he says, "it was in fact impossible for me to doubt that the Spirit of God had taken possession of my soul."

Such was Charles G. Finney's conversion. We have advisedly been a little circumstantial on this subject, that the reader may have distinct and clear outlines of its facts. It is evident to us that the facts associated with his conversion, and the special manner of their occurrence, united with his Bible readings, the occurrences of the previous three years, and his observation and thought on doctrine and church life, had very much to do with the type of his after life. He had never been in any revivals of religion. He was a perfect stranger, as far as we can ascertain, to scenes of religious excitement of any kind. He had known nothing of such outpourings of the Holy Spirit as prove overwhelming to body and mind, nor witnessed outbursts of sensibility and emotion such as he had been the subject of. It may be asked, how can these phenomena be accounted for? On what ground can the problem of these experiences be solved? What is their nature, and whence do they come? We can only find answers to such queries in the Divine word, viz., God is. Man can approach Him. Intercourse with God is a fact through Jesus. The influence of the Holy Ghost is an enlightening, helping power, assisting human infirmities, pervading, penetrating, saturating the heart and mind; and God, in His appointed way, brings man's willing soul into the fulness of Christ.

(To be continued.)

ART. II.—THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.*

THE CAUSES AND EARLY STAGES OF THE REFORMATION.

MR. FROUDE'S voluminous work is a history of the Reformation in England, and we do not need to add that it is *the* history of the period of which it treats. Of the labour and research which have been expended on these twelve volumes the innumerable notes referring to the records of our own and other countries bear witness. But we are not presented with the dry bones of history. In these pages each scene of the drama is revivified and enacted again before our imagination. We propose

* *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, by James Anthony Froude, M.A. Vols. I.-XII. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

in this and succeeding papers to give a brief outline of the history of the English Reformation as here narrated. In his preface Mr. Froude informs us that he was induced to undertake the work from a desire to vindicate the English Reformers from attacks recently made upon them. His original purpose was to confine himself to Elizabeth's reign. He found himself, however, "unable to handle the latter features of the Revolution without going back to the beginning of it. The coming of the Armada was the last act of a drama of which the divorce of Queen Catherine was the first."

With the divorce of Queen Catherine, accordingly, the history opens. In the early part of Henry VIII's reign nothing could have appeared more improbable than that the close of it should witness such a complete change in the relations between this country and the Papacy. Henry VIII., trained by ecclesiastics, bent his mind to the study of theology, and, entering the arena of controversy as the champion of the Church of Rome, had gained for himself the title of Defender of the Faith. The Church in this country had never enjoyed a larger measure of security and independence. The vast body of the nation did not dream of changing its creed. Yet in a few years the whole aspect of affairs was altered. The Defender of the Faith was excommunicated; the Church was brought down from its height of pride, and severed from its connection with Rome; and the nation, though not yet wholly leavened by Protestantism, threw off the yoke of the Papacy. Three causes, combined with a political accident, operated to bring about this change. The first and deepest was the condition of the Church itself. The clergy lived in idleness, luxury, and profligacy, neglecting their duties. The monasteries were in a worse condition than they had ever been. The necessity of a reform was evident even to the heads of the Church, and successive Archbishops had attempted feebly and unsuccessfully to correct the more flagrant abuses. Another cause was the national antipathy to the jurisdiction of the Pope. A large party thought it possible to separate from the Papacy and yet adhere to the old faith. But neither of these causes would have been sufficient to bring about the Reformation had it not been for the introduction and diffusion of Protestant teachings. The new doctrines had not made their way amongst the higher classes, but the common people received them gladly. Of these Mr. Froude says:—

"There was a third party in the country, unconsidered as yet, who had a part to play in the historical drama; a party which, indeed, if any one had known it, was the most important of all; the only one which, in a true, high sense, was of importance at all; and for the sake of which, little as it then appeared to be so, the whole work was to be done—composed at that time merely of poor men, poor cobblers, weavers, carpenters, trade apprentices, and humble artisans, men of low birth and low estate, who might be seen at night stealing along the lanes and alleys of London, carrying with them some precious

load of books which it was death to possess, and giving their lives gladly, if it must be so, for the brief tenure of so dear a treasure. . . . The number of English Protestants at this time it is difficult to conjecture. The importance of such men is not to be measured by counting heads. In 1525 they were organized into a society, calling themselves "the Christian Brotherhood," with a central committee sitting in London; with subscribed funds, regularly audited, for the purchase of testaments and tracts; and with paid agents, who travelled up and down the country to distribute them. Some of the poorer clergy belonged to the society; and among the city merchants there were many well inclined to it, and who, perhaps, attended its meetings 'by night, secretly, for fear of the Jews.' But, as a rule, 'property and influence' continued to hold aloof in the usual haughty style, and the pioneers of the new opinions had yet to win their way along a scorched and blackened path of suffering before the State would consent to acknowledge them."

We thus see that though on the surface nothing appeared to indicate swift and sudden change, the materials of combustion were in existence. The spark which set the flame alight was the divorce of Queen Catherine. The remarks recently made in a daily paper with reference to a revolution now impending in Europe apply with equal force to this crisis of the Reformation:—"The moment at which great forces shall be set in motion is often indeed a matter almost of accident, dependent upon some trivial cause, apparently insufficient in itself to achieve the most inconsiderate result in private life; but the forces themselves, thus set free, are not created or considerably modified by such influences as these. The 'how' and the 'when' of a revolution which will alter the face of Europe may depend upon persons, and often upon very feeble and insignificant persons; but the revolution itself is not to be caused or hindered by them. It may be shifted in its date; its scene may be changed; the *dramatis personæ* may be differently cast; but the thing will take place sooner or later, here or there, on the scale of its causes and in the ripeness of time."

Catholics and Protestants have usually agreed in attributing to Henry no other motive in seeking the divorce than the desire to be rid of the unattractive Catherine that he might put Annie Boleyn in her place. Yet Mr Froude points out that though his wishes no doubt influenced Henry in a great degree, there were grave reasons of State which made the divorce desirable. The uncertainty of the succession to the throne, the only heir being a weakly girl, threatened the possibility of a renewal of those desolating civil wars from the effects of which the nation was but just recovering. But Henry did not base his claim on expediency. He professed to be "troubled in waves of a scrupulous conscience" when, child after child dying as soon as born, he saw in their deaths the punishment of God on his unlawful marriage. The question of the validity of the Papal dispensation which had legalized it was publicly raised by the Bishop of Tarbes in the course of negociations for the marriage of the Princess Mary with

a French prince. This was early in 1527. In the spring of the same year Rome was taken by the Imperial army, and the Pope held prisoner by the Emperor Charles V., the nephew of Catherine. It was Wolsey's policy to ally his master with France against the Emperor in a war on behalf of the Pope. Catherine was the representative of Spanish interests, and the divorce was the means by which Wolsey thought to create an impassable breach between Henry and Charles. Strange that the very instrument with which Wolsey hoped to bring about the deliverance of the Papacy should have been that which was to deal it so great a blow. The French alliance was concluded, and the divorce case submitted to the Pope's judgment. The Pope was placed in a dilemma. Until the allies had proved their ability to defend him, he dared not offend the Emperor. He shuffled and delayed, while the King grew more urgent. When, in the autumn of 1528, the French army sent into Italy was swept off by fever, the Pope abandoned any intention of acceding to Henry's wishes, and being now reconciled to the Emperor, made it his business to procrastinate in the hope that the difficulty might be terminated in some other way. He had already despatched Cardinal Campeggio to England "to hear the cause in conjunction with Wolsey," but it was not intended that Campeggio should do anything. The legates' court was opened, and Catherine appeared before it only to appeal to the Pope. At Rome the decision would be under the control of the Emperor, and thus, after two years delay, Henry seemed further than ever from the realisation of his plans.

Wolsey having failed to carry the divorce case to a successful issue, lost the king's favour, and the fall of the last of the ecclesiastical statesmen of England was followed by the formation of a new ministry, Sir T. Moore succeeding Wolsey as Chancellor. The parliament which met immediately after was that by whose labours the Reformation was effected during its seven years of legislation. Though probably no one of its members had any conception of the work which lay before them, they had no sooner assembled than they gave an earnest of it by the presentation to the King of a petition, or "act of accusation" against the clergy. The abuses of the ecclesiastical courts were such that the nation could no longer endure them. Originally instituted for the administration of Church discipline, the sole purpose they now served was to extract pecuniary fines for every imaginable offence. The clergy who exercised this censorship were themselves notoriously immoral and worldly, and were called by the people "barrels full of gluttony and hypocrisy." The grievances of which the petition complained were chiefly the expenses, illegal imprisonments, and injustices of the ecclesiastical courts, and the various methods by which the clergy contrived to enrich themselves and neglect their

duties. Acts were passed dealing with these abuses, limiting probate duties and mortuaries, modes of clerical exaction, forbidding the clergy to engage in secular occupations, as farming, tanning and brewing, and putting an end to pluralities and non-residence.

The divorce question now entered upon a new phase. Henry carried out a suggestion said to have been made by Cranmer, and sought the judgment of the universities and learned men of Europe. Germany and Italy were under Imperial influence, and even the Protestants were indifferent or hostile to their old opponent. To the French King it was of the greatest importance to separate Henry from the Emperor, and the opinion of the University of Paris was in Henry's favour. Oxford and Cambridge also proved subservient, but it is of little matter on which side decisions so obtained were given.

A quarrel with the Papacy necessitated the humiliation of the clergy. By the recognition of Wolsey's legative authority they had broken an ancient law, and had incurred the penalties of præmunire. They obtained their pardon only upon payment of an enormous fine and the acknowledgment of the King as Head of the Church. They could not but see whither things were tending, and they struggled in vain against the stream. Excitement pervaded every class of the people. "Every parish pulpit rang with the divorce, or with the perils of the Catholic faith; at every village ale-house the talk was of St. Peter's keys, the sacraments, or of the Pope's supremacy, or of the points in which a priest differed from a layman." The celebrated Nun of Kent, who professed to receive "revelations" from heaven, under clerical instruction, denounced the divorce and threatened judgments on the King.

Early in 1502 the Commons proceeded with their Church reforms. "Benefit of clergy" had grown into an abuse by which any felon who could read or write claimed exemption from the secular jurisdiction. By an Act the benefit was limited to the ordained clergy, an important measure as a preliminary to its entire abolition. A step was now taken which was the first "in the momentous direction of a breach with the See of Rome." From the time of the Crusades it had been a custom for bishops and archbishops to "transmit to the Pope, on receiving their bulls of investment, one year's income from their new preferments." This payment of annates or firstfruits brought no small sum to the Papal coffers. England alone had thus contributed £160,000 in fifty years. The clergy were not unwilling to be relieved of this tax, and a bill for its abolition passed. Yet further to diminish ecclesiastical privileges, Convocation was deprived of a power it had hitherto possessed, of legislating independently of King or

Parliament. These measures were so openly hostile to the See of Rome as to alarm every earnest Catholic. Sir T. More resigned his Chancellorship, and Archbishop Warham issued a protest from his death-bed.

It would be wearisome to follow the fruitless diplomatic negociations of these years in which the divorce question was pending. The Emperor was firm in his support of Catherine, who had been compelled to leave the court and was now lying in a sad retirement at Ampthill. The French king sought to mediate between Henry and the Pope. Clement himself had an uneasy time of it between his wish to conciliate Henry and his fear of Charles. After seven years' waiting Henry resolved to brave all consequences and was privately married to Anne Boleyn. A great advance in the direction of separation from Rome was now made in the Act of Appeals, which forbade all appeals to the Roman See, and so severed England from its jurisdiction. The immediate result of this act was to transfer the divorce case to the court of the newly made Archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer. The court was opened at Dunstable, six miles from Ampthill, and Catherine was cited to appear; but she refused, calling it a mockery. The proceedings went on without her, and on May 23, 1533, a judgment was pronounced that the King's marriage with Catherine was void. The coronation of Anne immediately followed. From the Tower of London, so soon to be the scene of the tragic close of her career, she set forth on a summer morning, the centre of a gay pageant, to pass through the city to Westminster, where in the old Abbey Cranmer put upon her head the long-coveted crown.

The first volume of Mr. Froude's history concludes with a chapter of great interest on "The Protestants." The Association of Christian Brothers was organized in London in 1525 for the dissemination of the books that issued from Tyndal's Press at Antwerp. These brave men counted not their lives dear unto them. "Hunted like wild beasts from hiding-place to hiding-place; decimated by the stake, with the certainty that, however many years they might be reprieved, their own lives would close at last in the same fiery trial; beset by informers, imprisoned, racked, and scourged; worst of all, haunted by their own infirmities, the flesh sinking before the dread of a death agony—thus it was that they struggled on, earning for *themselves* martyrdom—for *us* the free England in which we live and breathe." Wolsey was, perhaps, the most lenient of the ecclesiastics in his treatment of heretics. The public spectacle of a recantation and a bonfire of testaments and heretical books in St. Paul's was enough for him. It was in the college he himself founded at Oxford that the new opinions found their most ardent disciples. John Clark "was in the habit of reading St. Paul's Epistles to young men in his

rooms," and round him there gathered a little band of students. A London curate (Thomas Garret) brought down to Oxford a store of heretical books, which he sold amongst them. The authorities got scent, and captured Garret, who, however, made his escape and found his way to Dalaper, the narrator of the story. We have not space for the whole, but here is a parting scene:—

"With deep sighs and plenty of tears, he prayed me to help to convey him away; and so he cast off his hood and gown wherein he came to me, and desired me to give him a coat with sleeves, if I had any; and he told me that he would go into Wales, and thence convey himself, if he might, into Germany. Then I put on him a sleeved coat of mine. He would also have had another manner of cap of me, but I had none but priestlike, such as his own was. Then kneeled we both down together upon our knees, and lifting up our hearts and hands to God our Heavenly Father, desired Him, with plenty of tears, so to conduct and prosper him in his journey that he might well escape the danger of all his enemies, to the glory of His Holy Name, if His good pleasure and will so were. And then we embraced and kissed the one the other, the tears so abundantly flowing out from both our eyes that we all bewet both our faces, and scarcely for sorrow could we speak one to another. And so he departed from me, appareled in my coat, being committed unto the tuition of our almighty and merciful Father. When he was gone down the stair from my chamber, I straightways did shut my chamber door, and went into my study, and taking the New Testament in my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and, with many a deep sigh and salt tear, I did, with much deliberation, read over the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, praying that God would endue his tender and lately-born little flock in Oxford with heavenly strength by His Holy Spirit, that quietly, to their own salvation, with all godly patience, they might bear Christ's heavy cross, which I saw was presently to be laid on their young and weak backs, unable to bear so huge a burden without the great help of His Holy Spirit."

When Sir Thomas More succeeded Wolsey a more active persecution began. The Smithfield fires were re-lighted and the prisons filled. The new leaven was working and ancient superstitions decaying, as the story of the fate that befell the rood of Dovercourt will tell:—

"This image was of such power that the door of the church in which it stood was open at all hours to all comers, and no human hand could close it. Dovercourt, therefore, became a place of great and lucrative pilgrimage, much resorted to by the neighbours on all occasions of difficulty. Now, it happened that within the circuit of a few miles there lived four young men, to whom the virtues of the rood had become greatly questionable. If it could work miracles, it must be capable, so they thought, of protecting its own substance; and they determined to apply a practical test which would determine the extent of its abilities. Accordingly, Robert King, of Dedham, Robert Debenham, of Eastbergholt, Nicholas Marsh, of Dedham, and Robert Gardiner, of Dedham, 'their consciences being burdened to see the honour of Almighty God so blasphemed by such an idol,' started off 'on a wondrous godly night' in February, with hard frost and a clear, full moon, ten miles across the wolds, to the church. The door was open, as the legend declared; but, nothing daunted, they entered bravely, and lifting down the 'idol' from its shrine, with its coat and shoes and the store of tapers which were kept for the services, they carried it on their shoulders for a

quarter of a mile from the place where it had stood, 'without any resistance of the said idol.' There setting it on the ground, they struck a light, fastened the tapers to the body, and, with the help of them, sacrilegiously burnt the image down to a heap of ashes; the old, dry wood 'blazing so brimly' that it lighted them a full mile of their way home. For this night's performance, which, if the the devil is the father of lies, was a stroke of honest work against him and his family, the world rewarded these men after the usual fashion. One of them, Robert Gardiner, escaped the search which was made, and disappeared till better times; the remaining three were swinging in chains six months later on the scene of their exploit. Their fate was, perhaps, inevitable. Men who dare to be the first in great movements are ever self-immolated victims. But I suppose that it was better for them to be bleaching on their gibbets than crawling at the feet of a wooden rood and believing it to be God."

The political history is resumed with an account of the effect produced upon Europe by Cranmer's sentence of divorce. The indignation at the Vatican found vent in a Papal brief declaring it illegal and the King to have incurred the penalties of excommunication, which, however, were deferred for a few months to give Henry time to retrace his steps. Henry now had to bestir himself to maintain his position. His greatest danger abroad was the possibility that the Catholic powers might unite in a crusade against him; at home the danger lay in insurrectionary tendencies, for much sympathy was felt with injured Catherine and Mary, and there was a strong Papal party. A firm hand was needed to steer the bark of the state amidst such breakers. And a firm though ruthless hand it was that was on the helm at this critical period. Thomas Cromwell had commenced his political life as the faithful servant of Wolsey. He afterwards took Wolsey's place in Henry's confidence, and "the virtual conduct of the Reformation was in his hands." "To him belonged the rare privilege of genius—to see what other men could not see; and therefore he was condemned to rule a generation which hated him, to accomplish the work which was to be done, and to perish in his success."

Early in 1534 Acts were passed giving heretics a fairer mode of trial, terminating the part the Pope had hitherto taken in the presentation to bishoprics, and stopping the supply of Peter's pence and all the other exactions, too numerous to name, of the see of Rome. The Act of Succession declared the King's marriage with Catherine illegal, and settled the heirship to the throne on the children of Queen Anne. Immediately after this the long-delayed judgment of the Pope was given in favour of Catherine. It now remained to be seen to whom the nation would yield its obedience.—to King or Pope. The commission appointed to receive the oaths for the observance of the Statute of Succession sat at Lambeth Palace. Amongst those who were summoned to take it were Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir T. Moore, who refused, and were sent to the Tower. A sharp outlook was kept on the clergy. They were commanded to preach on the Pope's usurpation,

and the Pope's name was ordered to be erased from the mass-books. The clergy obeyed very unwillingly, and Cromwell's spies soon gave him information which made a stronger measure than any yet taken appear needful. The King was declared by Act of Parliament supreme Head of the Church of England, and by the Statute of Treasons "the active consent to the supremacy might be required of any person under penalty to the recusant of the dreadful death of a traitor." This Act has been usually, and we think rightly, regarded as tyrannous, but Mr. Froude justifies it as needed for the security of the State:—"The nation was standing with its sword half-drawn in the face of an armed Europe, and it was no time to permit dissensions in the camp. Toleration is good, but even the best things must abide their opportunity; and although we may regret that in this grand struggle for freedom success could only be won by the aid of measures which bordered upon oppression, yet here also the even hand of justice was but commending the chalice to the lips of those who had made others drink it to the dregs. They only were likely to fall under the Treason Act who for centuries had fed the rack and the stake with sufferers for 'opinion.'" The first to suffer were the monks of the Charterhouse, the saintliness of whose lives formed the rare exception to the general corruption of the monastic orders. A brave death, it has been truly said, is not proof of a good cause, yet we cannot withhold our admiration of self-sacrifice for conscience sake in Catholic and Protestant alike. The Bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More were the next victims. The aged bishop tottered to the scaffold, Testament in hand, and praying that it might speak to him as from his Lord, opened it at a venture and read, "This is life eternal, to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent." "My Lords," said More to his judges, when they abjured him to have pity on himself, "I have but to say that, like as the blessed apostle St. Paul was present at the death of the martyr Stephen, keeping their clothes that stoned him, and yet be now both saints in heaven, and there shall continue friends for ever; so I trust, and shall therefore pray, that though your lordships have been on earth my judges, yet we may hereafter meet in heaven together to our everlasting salvation." He was now a Stephen, dying nobly for his faith; he had been himself a Saul, sending men to the prison and the stake for heresy. Europe, even Protestant Germany, heard of the execution of these two men with indignation. Paul III., who had succeeded Clement, immediately composed his bull of interdict and deposition, though for the present its issue was deferred.

The same year, 1535, Cromwell, who was now the King's vicegerent in his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, laid the axe to the root of monasticism. He issued a commission for the visitation of the religious

houses. The commissioners, Legh and Leyton, went the round of the kingdom, a terror to the idle and dissolute inmates of every monastery at the gates of which they presented themselves. The results of their investigations were recorded in the *Black Book* laid before the House of Commons, which, as the title leads us to infer, was black enough in its contents. A third only of the monasteries "could claim to be exempted from the darkest schedule." "When their enormities," says Latimer, "were first read in the Parliament house, they were so great and abominable that there was nothing but 'Down with them!'" But institutions which had been regarded with reverence for centuries, and in their original purity and noble aims justly so, were not to be abolished in a day. The great monasteries were spared for a time; all whose revenues were less than £200 a year, to the number of 376, were suppressed, and their estates vested in the Crown.

The Parliament which had carried out the series of reforms of which this was the culmination was now dissolved. Mr. Froude says of it:—

> This one body of men, dim as they now seem to us, who assembled on the wreck of the administration of Wolsey, had commenced and had concluded a revolution which had reversed the foundations of the State. They found England in dependency upon a foreign power; they left it a free nation. They found it under the despotism of a Church establishment saturated with disease, and they had bound the hands of that establishment; they had laid it down under the knife, and carved away its putrid members; and, stripping off its Nessus robe of splendour and power, they had awakened in it some forced remembrance of its higher calling. The elements of a far deeper change were seething; a change, not in the disposition of outward authority, but in the beliefs and convictions which touched the life of the soul. This was yet to come; and the work so far was but the initial step or prelude leading up to the more solemn struggle. Yet where the enemy who is to be conquered is strong, not in vital force, but in the prestige of authority and in the enchanted defences of superstition, those truly win the battle who strike the first blow, who deprive the idol of its terrors by daring to defy it.

H

Art. III.—THE FREEDOM OF THE WILL, WITH SPECIAL RELATION TO RECENT SCIENTIFIC THEORIES.

THE following notes upon this subject are based upon a recent work on Psychology, in which the evolution theory is applied in this department of science.* In the first volume of that work the subject of Objective Psychology is considered; in this part of the work mental development is traced up, in a general synthesis, from its beginnings; these beginnings being a correspondence

* The Principles of Psychology, by Herbert Spencer, second edition. London: Williams and Norgate, 1870.

between inner and outer actions; then that extends in space and time, while it increases in speciality, in generality, and in complexity. This interpretation of mental development is carried further by shewing how the advancing correspondence, when translated into the more familiar term of Reflex Action, Instinct, Memory, Reason, Feeling, and Will, is comprehensible as a continuous process naturally caused.

Nerve has a certain molecular structure and certain properties, and it is inferred from established laws of motion that the molecular change wrought in nerve by every discharge it conveys leaves it in a state for conveying a subsequent like discharge with less resistance. This (says our Author) being the universal law of nervous action, explains the universal law of intelligence.

We will now give a brief abstract of the data and inductions of this system of Psychology leading up to the conclusions arrived at respecting the Will.

A rough outline of the structure of the nervous system, accord- to Spencer, may be of advantage to begin with. For want of his diagrams, let the reader suppose a fork with two prongs, each prong with a mesh of a net at each end. This represents an arrangement of parts which is repeated frequently throughout the nervous system. One of the prongs represents what is termed the *afferent* nerve; the other the *efferent* nerve; at the point of junction of the two prongs is the nerve-corpuscle or ganglion-cell; the points of the prongs represent, one of them the point where the nerve receives sensation in a network of small nerves in the skin or elsewhere, and the other the termination of these nerves in the muscles or glands. The operation of these nerves, forming what is called a nervous arc (as represented in the two prongs of the fork), is as follows, namely:—

First. The mesh of network at the end of one nerve represents a peripheral expansion of the nerve-place where it is liable to be disturbed by an external agent, and so formed as to be most easily disturbed.

Second. A connected fibre (represented by one prong of the fork), capable of being readily affected by disturbance at this outer end, but shielded from disturbance elsewhere.

Third. At or near the inner end of this fibre (at the junction of the prongs) a corpuscle of unstably-arranged substance, apt to give out much molecular action when disturbed.

Fourth. A second fibre (represented by the other prong of the fork), diverging from the corpuscle and subject to disturbance from the molecular motion disengaged near its origin, but protected from other influences.

Fifth. At the remote extremity of this second fibre a subdivided termination (the mesh at the end of the other prong), made of

substance that contracts greatly when disturbed, and which in contracting moves the part of the body in which the first fibre took its rise.

This arrangement of parts is perpetually repeated throughout the nervous system; and if we generalise the conception somewhat by supposing that the commencement (the mesh at the end of the prong) is not necessarily external, but may be an inner surface of the body, or within an organ, while the termination of the other fibre (the mesh at the end of the other prong), is not necessarily in a muscle, but may be in a gland, we shall have a conception that is, in a certain sense, universally applicable. But this is only in a certain sense, because, until another element is added, the conception is incomplete. These coupled nerves, with the ganglion-cell acting as a link between them, recurring everywhere in substantially the same relations, appear to form a compound structure, out of which the nervous system is built, its unit of composition. But this is not so. By multiplication of such arcs we may get a multitude of separate nervous agencies, but not a nervous system. To produce a nervous system there needs an element connecting each such nervous arc with the rest; there needs a third fibre (which will be represented by the handle of the fork), running from the ganglion-cell, or its neighbourhood, to some place where other communicating fibres come; and where, by direct or indirect junctions, the primary couples of nerves may be brought into relation. That is, there requires what we may call a *centripetal* nerve. These three nerves thus united form a unit of the composition of a nervous system. In this manner these groups of nerves are found throughout the body of an animal connected to each other, and, in most instances, are ranged in an ascending order, from a subordinate to a superior, or more central ganglion.

One further kind of connection exists. The immense majority of animals have their parts symmetrically arranged, sometimes radially, but more frequently bi-laterally.

For the corresponding parts there are corresponding ganglia, or ganglia which belong to the same grade. Such connections consist of what are called *commisural* fibres. They transversely join the nerve-structure with the answering structure on the other side of the body, and thus linking the two halves of the nervous system, complete the nervous communication throughout the organism.

The nervous system of the human body may be briefly indicated thus: the spinal cord may be regarded as a continuous nervous centre; and in another sense, as a series of partially independent nervous centres. On the right side and on the left are the *afferent* nerves, collected into their bundles, and running inwards to the

spinal cord; and out of this are the corresponding bundles of *efferent* nerves, carrying back again the return current to the limb or other part of the body whence the *afferent* nerve has conducted the sensation received at its outer extremity. Proceeding up the spinal cord we advance from inferior to superior nervous centres; the *medulla oblongata* is one of the most important, lying just within the skull; the chief of all are the two great bi-lobed ganglia, which in man form the chief mass, the cerebellum and the cerebrum. It is generally agreed that these are centres of a still higher order, and, through the medium of the inferior nervous centres, they communicate with the whole peripheral nervous system.

The chief element of contrast between the higher animals and the lower consists in *the greater amount of self-mobility possessed by the higher forms of animal life;* as for instance, it is stated that the quantity of motion generated in one of the higher forms of mammals is nearly a million times that generated in a zoophyte.

The primary generator of motion is the nervous system; the quantity of motion produced is fundamentally related to the degree of nervous development. It is in the vertebrate animals that the most striking evidence on this point is found. According to Leuret, the average ratio of the brain to the body is, in fishes 1 to 5,668; in reptiles, 1 to 1,321; in birds, 1 to 212; and in mamals, 1 to 186. It is admitted, however, that this ratio of nervous development and locomotive activity is far from constant. An exception is given in the comparison of a horse and a man; where there is a simple relation between amount of nerve-tissue and amount of motion evolved, a horse, which weighs some seven times as much as a man, should have a nervous system at least seven times as heavy. Instead of this, it has a lighter nervous system, and yet a horse gallops much faster than a man runs.

The notice of this exception leads to another conclusion, namely, that *the motions of inferior creatures differ from those of superior creatures in relative simplicity.* Animals that are much evolved perform actions which, besides being rapid, are numerous in kind and severally involved in composition.

The next point brought under consideration is, the functions of the nervous system, and under this head the following questions are dealt with:—

1.—What are the causes which on appropriate occasions determine the nervous system to set up motion? This is its passive function as a receiver of disturbances that set it going.

2.—By what process does it liberate the insensible motion locked up in certain tissues, and cause its transformation into sensible motion? This is its active function as a liberator of motion.

3.—How does it adjust sensible motions into those combina-

tions, simultaneous and successive, needful for efficient action on the external world? This is its active function as a distributor or apportioner of the motion liberated.

Following upon this, the author discusses the conditions essential to nervous action, nervous stimulation, and æstho-physiology; these, with the preceding, forming his data of Psychology.

These points next lead up to a consideration of the Substance of Mind. Under this head he sets out with the doctrine of Hume, "That impressions and ideas are the only things known to exist, and that Mind is merely a name for the sum of them; and he eventually concludes that if the phrase, "Substance of Mind" is taken to mean the underlying something of which the distinguishing portions of it are formed, or of which they are modifications, then we know nothing about it. But if it is taken to mean Mind as qualitatively differentiated in each portion that is separable by introspection, but seems homogeneous and undecomposable; then we do know something about the substance of mind, and may eventually know more."

After considering the question of life and mind as correspondence, our author enters upon the consideration of the nature of Law and Intelligence, its growth, reflex action, instinct, memory, reason, the feeling, and the will.

The view entertained by Spencer on the Will is, that its development is but another aspect of the general process by which memory, reason and feeling, simultaneously arise as the automatic actions become complex, infrequent and hesitating.

The following passage will perhaps include sufficient of his definition of the Will:—

> When the automatic actions become so involved, so varied in kind, and severally so infrequent, as no longer to be performed with unhesitating precision; when, after the reception of one of the most complex impressions, the appropriate motor changes become nascent, but are prevented from passing into immediate action by the antagonism of certain other nascent motor changes appropriate to some nearly allied impression, there is constituted a state of consciousness which, when it finally issues in action, displays what we term volition. Each set of nascent motor changes arising in the course of this conflict is a weak revival of the state of consciousness which accompanies such motor changes as were before executed under like circumstances—is an idea of such motor changes. We have, therefore, a conflict between two ideal motor changes which severally tend to become real, and one of which eventually does become real; and this passing of an ideal motor change into a real one we distinguish as Will.

Spencer deals with the current allusion—as he terms it—of the freedom of the Will in the following manner:—"Considered as an internal perception, the allusion consists in supposing that at each moment the *ego* is something more than the aggregate of feelings and ideas, actual and nascent, which then exists." And he further says:—"To reduce the general question to the simplest form:

Psychical changes either conform to law or they do not. If they do not conform to law, this work, in common with all works on the subject, is sheer nonsense; no science of psychology is possible. If they do conform to law, there cannot be any such thing as free will."

This conclusion is directly opposed to the Arminian theory of the Will, which ascribes to it *a self-determining power*. There is a remarkable similarity between these results of the reasonings of the evolutionist of to-day and those of Edwards of last century, in their opposition to the freedom of the Will; the only difference appears to be that whilst Spencer and others of his opinion refer the motive power operating on the will to the outworking of natural law, the great Calvanistic theologian traced them all to one common centre, namely, the Divine will.

The views held by Huxley and Clifford are closely allied to those we have extracted from the writings of Spencer. "The body is regarded as a physical machine, which goes by itself according to a physical law, that is to say, is automatic" (Clifford). Professor Huxley states the automatic theory in respect to brutes thus:—"The consciousness of brutes would appear to be related to the mechanism of their body simply as a collateral product of its working, and to be completely without any power of modifying that working, as the steam-whistle which accompanies the work of a locomotive engine is without influence upon its machinery. Their volition, if they have any, is an emotion indicative of physical changes, not a cause of such changes."

The only satisfactory argument, so far as we know, that has been opposed to the doctrine of this automatic theory is that to be drawn from the facts of consciousness. Dr. Calderwood says:—"Of legitimate hypotheses (on the freedom of Will) there are three available forms:—(1) Constrained action, under dominion of some controlling power, distinct from the Will itself; (2) spontaneous action, according to an inherent and invariable energy operating within the Will itself; or (3), free action, admitting of variation within a sphere where alternative causes are equally possible." The two former, says this writer, are inconsistent with the recognised facts of consciousness, and the last is the only hypothesis which harmonises with them. Hume says, in opposition to this argument from consciousness, that it is only a seeming experience which we have of liberty or indifference in many of our actions. Taking the example of a person affirming that he has the power, independently of everything in the way of motive, to move a limb this way or that way, according to the determination of his will, Hume contends that in such a case the fantastical desire of shewing liberty is here the motive of the action. But closely following upon this he admits that two serious objections may be urged

again this view, namely:—"I. If human actions can be traced up by a necessary chain to the Deity, they can never be criminal, on account of the infinite perfection of that Being from whom they are derived, and who can intend nothing but what is altogether good and laudable. Or, II. If they be criminal, we must retract the attribute of perfection which we ascribe to the Deity, and must acknowledge Him to be the ultimate Author of guilt and moral turpitude in all His creatures."

The following is the analysis of volition and action as given by Spencer:—"In a voluntary act of the simplest kind we can find nothing beyond a mental representation of the act, followed by a performance of it—a rising of that incipient psychical change which constitutes at once the tendency to act and the idea of the act, with the complete psychical change which constitutes the performance of the act, in so far as it is mental." This is held to be the case in respect to the earliest and simplest manifestations of Will, but in the later and more involved manifestations there are more complicated operations and changes preceding the performance of the act. The theory of Spencer respecting the Will, when translated from the technical phraseology of the work before us, is something like the following:—Immediately preceding any action there arise certain impressions from various causes; these impressions arouse certain psychical states; part of them tend to excite an action in one direction; another part tend to an action in an opposite direction; then the outbalancing of the one by the other, resulting in the performance of the action to which the stronger force is propelling, is the coming into play of the Will.

This reduces man to a piece of mechanism, moving entirely as he is driven, and the direction of his movements entirely controlled by this "balance of power" of external influences. We think, however, that this theory of volition will scarcely bear the fair test of the ordinary occurrences of human life; for, in the frequent case of a perfect equality between opposite forces there would be not only no action at all in the result, but also an entire inability to act; we would be constantly finding ourselves in the position of an engine brought to stand on its own centre, in which case there can be no more motion until this position has been altered by some force other than that in the machine itself. The business of practical life would offer many a ludicrous instance of men stuck hard and fast between two equally attracting or propelling forces, and there would be many frequent repetitions of the experience of the jackass who, coming on a certain occasion to a point where he was at an equal distance from each of two fine bundles of hay was held there immoveable, without the least power to advance to either of them. This theory is also insufficient to account for actions which are prompted by other impulses than those received

through the medium of the physical senses. It cannot be denied, we think, that some of the noblest acts have been performed, as in the case of heroes and martyrs, in spite of and in opposition to the strongest physical impulses tending in a direction opposite to that of the deed performed. The love of possessions, the desire for life, the fear of pain, and the dread of death—all these may have been the forces tending in one direction; but the action of the martyr in another way cannot be accounted for by any of the causes which come within the class of impulses described by our author as precedent to the actions of human beings.

The origin of automatic action in man seems to be traced by Spencer to habit, or the frequent repetition of certain acts. "For instance, the child learning to walk wills each movement before making it; but the adult, when setting out anywhere, does not think of his legs but of his destination, and his successive steps are made with no more volition than his successive inspirations. From time to time curious results arise, as in the case of the old soldier who let fall the pie he was carrying home for his Sunday's dinner when the word 'Attention!' was shouted behind him." Another example, analogous to that of the old soldier, is quoted from Dr. H. Jackson. "Some years ago I was on an omnibus, and we were kept some time, as one of the horses would not start. Various plans were tried to overcome its stupidity, but without success. At last the driver directed the conductor to shut the door violently, this being the usual signal for starting. To my great surprise the horse went on at once." "Here," says Spencer, "the once voluntary act of starting after hearing the sound had become so automatic that an antagonist volition could not prevent it."

It is quite evident that the admission of this theory of the Will and of human action would be entirely destructive of our belief in the doctrine of human responsibility, of the existence of right and wrong, of the justice of rewards and punishments, either in this life or in the future state, and would also destroy all belief in the human soul.

Of course it must be admitted that no mere statement of the consequences of the theory can justly be allowed to weigh as an argument against it, yet it will be of service in awakening attention to the importance of the issue involved in the question of the truth or error of these recent theories of scientists.

It must not, however, be supposed that the opinion of able physiologists is all leaning to the materialistic side in this matter. A recent American author* says, on the comparison of scientific authorities: "What philosopher is read with most enthusiasm by students of religious and philosophical science in Germany and Scotland? Why, Hermann Lotze. Who is he? I am sorry you

*"The Nerves and the Soul," by Rev. Joseph Cook, Boston, U.S.

have heard of Herbert Spencer, whose star touches the western pines, and know nothing of Hermann Lotze, whose star is in the ascendant. The most renowned of the modern German philosophers, he is a great physiologist as well as a great metaphysician (see article on Hermann Lotze, in *Mind*, July, 1876). A man recognised everywhere as thoroughly acquainted with physiology, as Herbert Spencer is not, especially with the latest research. He is a theist of the most pronounced kind. He is full of scorn for the idea that the Power that put into us personality does not itself possess personality."

There are grave difficulties in the way of the reception of the conclusions of Spencer, and especially the doctrine of evolution in its widest sense, which connects the highest organism, life and intelligence, with the lowest form of inorganized matter simply by a process of growth or development. The one insuperable difficulty is the great gulf between the living and the not living; spontaneous generation, according to a recent writer, precluding the possibility.

Then there is another difficulty in the wide divergence between the attributes of matter and mind. Professor Bain teaches that only matter exists in the universe, but that matter rightly defined "is a double-faced somewhat having a spiritual and a physical side." Now, in opposition to this, we submit matter has form, mind has no form; matter has extension, spirit has not. The attributes of the two are utterly incompatible with each other.

Whilst holding this view of the wide difference in the constitution of matter and mind, we are not forgetting that the connection between them is of the very closest kind; as to what is the exact point of contact or the connecting link, we are in the profoundest ignorance. It is held by most modern physiologists that as no movement of the body takes place without some waste of muscular tissue correspondent to that movement, so no thought takes place without some equivalent waste of the nervous system. And further, that each specific thought causes some specific waste of brain matter, showing a most mysterious connection between certain kinds of thought and the waste of a certain portion of brain matter. Professor Huxley in his Belfast address (1874) tells us, "It is not to be doubted that those motions which give rise to sensation leave on the brain changes in its substance which answer to what Haller called *vestigia rerum*, and to what that great thinker, David Hartley, termed 'Vibratiuncules.' The sensation which has passed away leaves behind molecules of the brain competent to its reproduction—'sensigenous molecules,' so to speak—which constitute the physical foundation of memory." There seems no cause to dispute these conclusions; on the contrary, the facts of physiognomy seem to tend in the direction of the

same conclusion. The outlines and lineaments of the human face are held to be a certain index of temperament and record of the course of life and thought. Sensations leave their mark not only on the internal organism of the brain, but also on the external appearance, so that, we think, the physical foundation of memory has even a wider application than that ascribed to it by Professor Huxley. The point at which the materialist diverges from us is this—the confounding of the close connection between mind and matter with the identity of them; in certain phenomena there is such an appearance of oneness, of the blending of these two, namely, mind and matter, that it almost tempts the conclusion of their sameness, just as in certain phases of a marine prospect at the horizon sky so infringes on sea and sea so melts with sky that the two, under the effect of the haze of distance, appear really one, whilst, as the same time, the observer knows there is the same immeasureable height there as to the zenith over his head.

The attempted explanations of the nervous system, and especially the actions of intelligent beings, on the theory of materialism, appear to us to have proved so far utterly unsatisfactory. There is a principle underlying all these manifestations of action in organised life, that is, the vital principle; in short, vital phenomena are not properly accounted for by the automatic theory, or that of mechanism, but by the theory of life, and of a human personality, having freedom as one of its characteristics.

Whilst wishing scrupulously to avoid any sweeping condemnation of a scientific treatise like that of Spencer, to which we have referred, and based, as it is intended to be, on careful analysis of the laws of physical life and of many varieties of animal organism with which the learned author has made himself familar,—yet we cannot refrain from an expression of regret that in dealing with this highly important question of the human will, he has left out of account some of the most powerful forces that operate in connection with it—forces coming from other than material sources but not the less powerful; the omission of these, in our opinion, tends to render his conclusions in the department partial and untrustworthy. The force of conscience, or that consciousness of praise or blame in ourselves in relation to certain actions, is one which certainly cannot with justice be discarded in relation to human actions; yet this, and, in fact, all other impulses or forces tending to operate upon the mind and influence the action of the will other than those of a physical origin, are entirely ignored by this writer.

The existence of a something underlying the human will, as well as the memory, feelings and intelligence,—*an ego, a human personality*, is a belief which we are not ready to give up for that poor substitute for the mind or soul which Herbert Spencer calls "The sum of our impressions and feelings."

The freedom of the will also appears to be a fact so deeply rooted in our human consciousness as to require more than ordinary reasons to justify us in yielding it up in deference to the automatic theory, which, to say the least, seems to be founded too much upon instances and conclusions drawn from the lower animals to render it strongly conclusive on the question of the human will.

The fact, too, of the almost universal recognition by human society of the need of laws to govern action is a strong presumption in favour of that freedom of the will without which legal enactments would be only traps set in the course of beings moving onward automatically in certain unalterable directions; and, above all, we hold that the influence exerted upon human action and character by the revelation of the "world to come," the unfolding of the view of the righteous judgment of God given in the Holy Scriptures, is another, and perhaps the highest, force brought to bear upon the human will, and one which, in the work under consideration, seems also entirely ignored.

We are, therefore, content for the present to fall back upon the teaching of our consciousness as to the existence of a human personality, and our possession of a real control of our actions by the will, that is, the freedom of self government.

THOMAS PARKER.

ART. IV.—PRAYER FOR THE NATIONS.

AN ADDRESS

Delivered by the Rev. James G. Potter, in St. George's Presbyterian Church, Newcastle-on-Tyne, during "The Week of Prayer."

CHRISTIAN Friends, and beloved Fathers and Brethren: The occasion that assembles us together is prayer—"Prayer for the Nations;" and since God has promised His presence and blessing in all places where He records His name, and has given a commission to His church to preach His Gospel, and proclaim His redeeming mercy among all Nations, it must seem, to every well regulated mind and heart, that in pleading with the Governor of the Nations, we stand on high vantage ground for success, and may hope to realise such an answer to our cry, that the heavens will be opened, and a blessing poured forth that there will not be room enough to receive it.

The Nations. How wide the subject; over what latitudes it stretches—the habitable globe in all its circumference, except where an extreme eternal winter reigns. The Nations of every clime and colour, of every clime and tongue, of every civilised and savage condition. Nations grovelling in wretchedness,

poverty, and crime, or basking in the unclouded sunshine of comfort, well-doing and security. Nations rude and fierce, or polite and polished; at war or in peace; in keenest sorrow or ecstatic joy. Nations feared and defied, or honoured and loved. Nations being born or nations dying—all these features of the Nations may legitimately be embraced in our supplications, and come within the aspirations of the devout and holy heart.

Or, we may regard the Nations in somewhat different aspects. We know of Nations whose hearts are wholly set on fire of hell; whose fondest affections centre in, and are only gratified with, what is earthly, sensual, and devilish; whose sacred rites are the manifestations of horrid cruelty and the foulest guilt. Nations overshadowed by the gloom and power of systems of error, which people their imaginations, master all their actions, oppress all their thoughts, crush hope, and joy, and purity out of their lives, and convert many fair landscapes into scenes of unmingled lamentation, mourning and woe. And even where the truth has secured an established footing, and the banner of the everlasting Gospel is being carried forward by brave and dauntless pioneers, still the progress is generally slow, the inroad made through the phalanx of moral foes hardly as yet perceptible, the shout of thorough victory seldom rends the skies; for the Nations of the earth continue to welter in wickedness, groan beneath the iron rod of oppression, are tormented by the demons of ignorance and passion, and are still far from God and far from righteousness.

The Nations. They are found scattered along every shore, sailing on every sea, penetrating the densest forests, wandering through the wide waste, pitching their tents on the rolling prairie, seeking shelter and defence in the bosom of the rocks, marshalling their forces on the richest plains, north, south, east, and west—the Nations lie on every hand. They are engaged in every species of handywork—planting and sowing, building and destroying—exhibiting every phase of mental condition, from grovelling imbecility to transcendent genius—enjoying every religious privilege, or sitting in the region and shadow of death—manifesting the lineaments of the Christ-like character, or doing the works of their father the devil.

What, then, ought we to pray for on behalf of the Nations? Evidently that evil in all its strongholds may be overthrown, and the beauties of holiness may shine in every life; that the darkness which paralyses the Nations may be dispersed, and the light of God's light may wrap the world in its cheering garment; that the gigantic forces of idolatry may be vanquished, and the kingdom may be given to Christ as head over all things to His church, till, through the work and demonstration of the one Spirit, there shall be acknowledged among all Nations one Lord, one faith, one hope,

one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, through all, and in us all.

But, brethren, what we have now stated in reference to the subject of our prayers, you will observe, has been expressed in the most general terms. We are thankful, therefore, that the committee who conduct the business of this "Week of Prayer," have indicated somewhat definitively the line of remark in which our address should run. Our prayers are to ascend for "Nations, for Rulers, Magistrates, and Statesmen; for Philanthrophic and Benevolent Institutions; for a Pure Literature; the spread of Sound Education among the people; and the Maintenance of Peace." Here, again, you perceive, are momentous topics for consideration. They cover an enormous extent of ground; yet they all tend to the furtherance of the well-being, and the strengthening of the foundations of the commonwealth of nations.

I.—We are to pray for *Rulers*, *Magistrates*, and *Statesmen*. The tongue of flattery may exclaim in the presence of majesty, "Oh, King, live for ever;" but, the sovereign dies as well as the humblest subject. Their respective responsibility, however, is unequal. And there are skeletons in palaces as well as in cottages; hearts that quake through terror beneath the purple vestment, and ominous dreams that haunt the pillow on which reposes the head that wears a crown. Let us therefore pray that every monarch be endowed with wisdom, humanity, gentleness, and sincerity; that it may be evident from the glowing happiness that pervades the nations, that their hearts are in the hand of God; that their sceptres are wielded in righteousness; that their thrones are built on the affectionate regards of the people; that their diadems sparkle with the more brilliant glory, because of the divine grace in the soul. In this way kings shall bring their honour and glory, and lay them at the feet of Christ; and kings shall become nursing fathers, and queens nursing mothers of the Church; until from the least to the greatest, the dominion of Him who is King of kings and Lord of lords shall be universally owned, and all flesh shall see it together, for the mouth of the Lord has spoken it.

Now, for much the same reason we should pray for *Magistrates* and *Statesmen*. That, with respect to the former, mercy may be exercised in the administration of justice; that they bear not the sword in vain, but be a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well; that crime may be repressed; that the criminal may be reclaimed; that sin may hide its face in shame; and that the sinner may find pardon, peace, and hope. And that with respect to the latter they may be influenced by the purest motives in the great struggle of parties; that they may devise such laws as shall promote contentment, sobriety, health and wholesome recreation among all ranks and classes of the people; that all

popular disturbance and commotion be avoided and overruled for good; that their enactments may be obeyed by a royal and grateful community; and, that by their wisdom, sagacity, and their fear of God, they may secure for themselves a renown more enduring than brass, and more pleasing to the eye and the heart than "monumental bust and storied urn."

II.—We are also to pray for *Benevolent and Philanthropic Institutions.* These, brethren, I need hardly inform you only exist where the Gospel of Christ is preached and practised. They are, in short, offshoots of Calvary's Cross. They only grow in vigour around the wells of salvation, or along the verdant banks where the River of life flows. The greatest benefactors of the world have been Christian men and women. The warmest, kindest, and most sympathising hearts have been those that beat in love to our Lord and Master. These have been the men and the women who have staunched with the balsam of disinterested tenderness the wound by which many a suffering brother was sinking into death. Who erected our hospitals and asylums, our ragged schools and missionary stations, sown broadcast over the length and breadth of Christendom, and in many a region where our common humanity is sunk almost to a level with the brutes? It was Christian men and women who did these things. These things were the proper outcome of their faith and love; and they stand as testimonies of an enlightened conscience, of a charity that vaunteth not itself, and that seeketh not her own. Let us pray, then, that such institutions may be maintained in their efficiency; that their number may be increased; that their patrons may not be weary in their labour of love and patience of hope; that the spirit of a greater liberality in this direction may be evoked; till the moanings of sorrow, crying and pain shall be heard no more, and the inhabitants of the nations shall no more say "we are sick;" or, at least, till every weary one shall find a home, and the outcast, diseased, the ruined, and the lost shall be able to find shelter, support, and gladness, in the outstretched and welcoming arms of a Christ-like self-sacrifice.

III.—We are also to pray for a *Pure Literature.* This might imply that there are books, magazines, and newspapers published and disseminated, whose grand aim is to undermine purity in heart, in taste, in morals, in character, and in conduct. And, alas! there are. What a shame! What a scandalous piece of business! that men and women should devote the talents with which God has endowed them to cause pollution and frivolity to invade society, to ruin our children, to worse than waste the precious time of thousands, and render them unfit for sober, solid, and profitable thoughtfulness. Oh, brethren, let us pray—prayer seems here to be our only resource—that the influences of God's

gracious Spirit, which enlightens, converts, guides, and sanctifies the minds as well as the hearts of the nations may be put forth; that the press may echo the announcements of the Word of God; that everything which leaps from its potent brain may have a holy tendency; that everything which ministers to this reading age may be inspiring, elevating, and thoroughly beneficial to the best interests of man; that every author may be a prophet of God, an apostle of Christ, a messenger of the Church, and a teacher of sound doctrine; and that every book may be a golden treasury of useful and sanctifying information—a gospel in the simplicity of its narative, its redeeming power, its transcendent value, its heaven-directing guidance, and transforming love and grace.

IV.—Again, we are to pray for *the spread of sound education among the people.* Christian brethren, we can scarcely err in such a place as this, in defining what we understand by a "sound education." Let me say that, in publishing pamphlets, and writing letters, and in delivering speeches at excited meetings respecting education, some of us are exceedingly clever, able, and eloquent. But the system of education which at such times we are forced to advocate in the face of the sectarian factions of the country is not what we would wish our children *solely* to be favoured with to fit them thoroughly for their duty, and imbue them with a sense of their responsibility towards God and man. It is all very well that they should have sharpened intellects, accurate methods, clear judgments, cultivated tastes, and beautiful and tender manners. But all these scarcely touch the hem of the subject, far less reach to the root of the matter of a sound education. In all these the conscience may be untouched, and seared as with an hot iron; the affections may be petrified and callous; God and Christ and heaven and hell may be ignored and lost sight of; judgment and eternity may be neglected and despised; the heart and soul may be ruined and lost; and in such a deplorable catastrophe the best interests, the choicest parts, the divinest endowments of our children become contemned and trampled under foot. We may feel a kind of self-satisfaction in seeing and hearing our children glibly mimic, and affect the airs and speak the languages of the French and Germans, the Danes and the Spaniards, and nimbly run their fingers over the key-board of a piano, or convey to the canvas the glowing colours of a sublime or romantic scene. But, as Christian parents, we feel that these are not all the "accomplishments" which go to constitute a "sound education." No. Let us include in the sacred catalogue the fear of God and the keeping of His commandments; a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures; the subjugation of the will to that of God; a love of truth and holiness, and a hatred of sin and the devil; a growing conformity to the Divine image; the practice of

righteousness, goodness, and love; the strengthening of Christian faith, hope, and joy; a longing after God, an imitation of Christ, a cherishing of the grace of the Holy Spirit, a crucifixion of the flesh, a deadness to unsanctified ambition, and a ripening for glory, honour, immortality, and life eternal. In these and in their propagation lie the welfare of our children, their happiness here and hereafter, our confidence and hope of them serving their own generation according to the will of God, the enjoyment of soul-prosperity, and the elevation of the masses of the people and the extension of the glory of God in our midst. Let us pray, therefore, that our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth, and our daughters as corner stones polished after the similitude of a palace; that our children, while being well equipped for their work in this world, may at the same time be all taught of God, and prepared for another and a better world; that instead of being stolid and stupid, ignorant and unlearned in the statutes and judgments of God, they may grow up in all the stateliness and symmetry, elegance and solidity, completeness and strength of wisdom and understanding, and the knowledge of wholesome doctrine. In these lie our hopes for the young and rising generation. In these lie our comfort in them, and their obedience and docility in the sight of God. Through these they will be strengthened against temptation, supported in duty, nerved for work, cheered under disappointment, and, from first to last, they will please God. This is the "sound education" we plead for, if the next generation is not to be one of intellectual sharpers, and wise only in that wisdom which is foolishness with God.

V.—We are, lastly, to pray for *the maintenance of peace.* Now, we must candidly confess that there is a danger at present of the peace of nations being broken. The bloodhounds of war are in a leash held by hands by no means reluctant to let them slip. The crisis quivers on a pivot of diamond point. War and peace are suspended in a balance, and the most secondary circumstance may turn the beam. O, what a curse is war! David preferred three days of pestilence to fleeing three months before his enemies. The men who have waged war to gratify their personal or national ambition have been the fire-brands of the world. They merit the unmingled execration of humanity. Destruction and misery are in their path; they are instruments of cruelty. They are the active agents in producing sorrow, crying, pain, and death, and in opening the flood-gates of all those brutal passions which overwhelm the weak, the helpless, the aged, and the innocent. O, friends, let us pray, pray without ceasing, fervent prayers; pray with all supplication of the Spirit that God may scatter those that delight in war; that the Prince of Peace may interfere to prevent the battle of the warriors, with its confused noise and

garments rolled in blood. For of all scourges, war is the severest; of all judgments, it is the most terrible. It is the embodiment of the wrath of man. Amidst its awful havoc, the flashing of its furbished swords, the roaring of its cannon, the scaling of the battlement, and the leading of the forlorn hope, in the charge, the struggle, the victory, or defeat, all that is divine and merciful and lovely in man is wounded or slain, and all that is necessary to convert him into an incarnate devil is indulged and gloried in. Let us therefore pray—let us take heaven by violence, that the Wonderful Counsellor may preside over the conferences of the Nations; that peaceful measures may prevail; that the brotherhood of the Nations may be recognised; that there be no appeal to the arbitrament of the sword. Pray "Give peace in our time, good Lord," and that the long-expected and universal reign of peace be ushered in; that the kingdoms of this world may become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ; that the Nations may beat their swords into plough-shares and their spears into pruning hooks; that nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. Then the prayer of the Psalmist will be fully answered, "Let the whole earth be filled with thy glory," and the anthem shall be taken up and echoed back to heaven, "Hallelujah, the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth;" "Even so, come Lord Jesus;" "Let thy work appear unto thy servants, and thy glory unto their children;" "That thy way may be known upon the earth, thy saving health among all nations." Amen.

Art. V.—THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

Christ and Humanity, with a Review, Historical and Critical, of the Doctrine of Christ's Person. By Henry M. Goodwin. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

THIS work is a small octavo volume, of 404 pages, and is dedicated to Horace Bushnell, the revered friend and teacher of the author. It is made up of two principal divisions. The former includes a discussion on the doctrine of Christ's person; the latter contains a review of the history of the doctrine. Part first belongs to the realm of dogma; part second to the realm of history. The dogmatic portion of the volume includes discourses on the following subjects:—The Divine Humanity of Christ, the Son of Man, Christ the Root of Humanity, the Human Development of Jesus, the Image of God, the Human Trinity, Man's Place in the Creation. The historical portion is divided into two

parts; the one includes an Historical Survey, Christology of the Early Christian Fathers, the Chalcedon Christology, Christology of the Middle Ages, Christology of the Reformation, Christology of the Reformed Churches. The other part comprehends the Results of the Historical Survey, Fundamental Principles of a True Christology, this last section branching into the Essential Unity of the Divine and Human, the Divine or Heavenly Humanity of Christ, the Kenôsis or Self-limitation of the Logos in the Incarnation. Here, then, we have a book that touches the most vital elements of Christianity, and which includes within its critical survey a period of more than 1,000 years. There is scarcely a point touched but might furnish material for a good-sized volume, and instead of condensing such vital, and diverse, and far-reaching issues into a single tome, the subject might have demanded a dozen volumes for its composition and vindication. The writer possesses the art of putting much in little. The thought is not lost in an exuberance of words. What he says he says forcibly, though we cannot add, at all times, convincingly. Possibly he credits his readers with being abreast of himself in the subjects under discussion, and concludes that he has but to state his case, and conviction and assent will immediately follow. Had he expanded his thoughts, or presented them in their many-sidedness, even at the expense of crushing out some of the historical portion, or of publishing a second volume, there would have been less danger of the reader misapprehending his meaning. In our judgment the controversy which this book may create will be concentrated on the first four chapters. Not that we pledge ourselves to everything contained in the rest of the work, but the chief interest will centre within pages 1-96. About one-fourth of the space is occupied in seeking the overthrow of the orthodox doctrine, and the substitution of another, which the writer maintains to be the only consistent one; whilst three-fourths of the book are taken up with matters which, however relevant, do not enter into the pith and marrow of the subject. There are some points in the work which we condemn, others which we heartily endorse, and others in relation to which we observe "a strict neutrality."

In the preface the author says: "The time has come for a new method and direction of theological and Christological inquiry, and the tokens are abundant that it has already begun. It cannot be denied that the image of Christ, as commonly represented, and as presented in most theological symbols, is a confused or double image. He is conceived now as divine, and now as human, or as both together in a kind of unity called one person, but which is really and practically a *duality*. Nothing else, indeed, is possible so long as the ancient creed or symbol is literally held of 'two natures in one person,' each retaining its own distinctive pro-

perties. None will question the importance of such a conception of Christ as shall bring these two aspects of His person into a real unity or *identity*, so as to give a single, distinct, and adequate—and, so to speak, a *stereoscopic*—image of the God-man, without blur or confusion, and at the same time without detriment either to His divinity or His humanity. The author humbly but confidently believes that he has attained such a view, which he has endeavoured to present and vindicate in this volume."—p. 8-9.

Far be it from us to aver that the orthodox view is attended with no difficulties. The dogma of the Person of Christ is the mystery of godliness; and if the veil can be lifted, it must be by an appeal to the written word. Does this work render those difficulties so prominent and insuperable as to lead us logically to the abandonment of the generally received view? and does this book present us with such an explanation of the doctrine as will satisfy all reasonable demands, and so commend itself to the acceptance of the church catholic? Before we can accept his theory, the author must deal with those passages of inspired truth which are supposed to teach the current theory, and must support his own by an appeal to Scripture rather than to metaphysical science. It appears somewhat singular to us that after the dogma of Christ's Person was settled by the decisions of the councils of the fourth and fifth centuries, for fourteen centuries the theologic mind should have been in eclipse, and that now the shadow of error and ignorance is passing away, and that the true light, in the shape of the most rational and Scriptural view of Christ's Person, now shineth. Of course we admit that the early church councils were not infallible, that they sometimes condemned the truth and confirmed the error, that the conscience cannot be bound by antiquity, that critical and exegetical apparatæ have much improved. Our author, however, is "putting forth no novelty of speculation, nor reviving an ancient and exploded heresy, but is only gathering up and combining into a consistent whole those fragments of truth which lay at the heart of the Monophysite controversy, and kept it alive for many centuries, but which were overborne by ecclesiastical authority, and distorted into error by the substitution of logic for insight in the interpretation of Scripture."—p. 12.

We concur with the writer when he says that it is a waste of time to discuss some existing beliefs and theories respecting Christ; the Goliath among the Philistines is the "orthodox belief of two natures and one person." He intimates that the theoretical objections to the dual nature have only to be stated to show its untenableness. He asks on the one hand how these two souls or wills, and their several activities, could exist together, and yet form but *one person*; or how, on the other, they could

exist in one personal consciousness, and yet preserve their individual integrity; how, moreover, to conceive of such a spiritual conjunction of two rational souls in one person without a confusion too great and insurmountable for a rational faith in Him; and, finally, where is the need of supposing a distinctively active human soul in Christ when a divine soul—the Word made flesh—will answer all the conditions and terms of the problem; and especially, and last of all, since there is no clear warrant in Scripture for such a supposition?" p. 4. Paul says, "I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." Are we to affirm that the Apostle denied the existence of his own personality? Was the *I* absorbed in the *Christ*? If the human ego and the divine ego could not co-exist in Paul's consciousness, but that the *I* was swallowed up in the *Christ*, may not the Apostle be charged with pantheism? The principles of our spiritual life, together with their wondrous activities and far-reaching relations, are not amenable to a speculative philosophy. In the realm of religion reason may assume too much. Is it possible that the above-named factors may co-exist in the God-man, though they may defy us to reconcile them? The writer says, No. If the finite is the measure of the Infinite, then we may detect the absurd and the contradictory in the Person of Christ; but if our capacities be limited, then may not matters pertain to the God-man which we can neither affirm nor deny? We ought not to forget that Christ's Person in its dual spheres stands above a mere human plane, and that we, occupying a lower stand-point, are not in a position to comprehend it. Our author seems to know what did belong to Christ's Person, and what did not; to deny the existence of some things, and to affirm the existence of others. For instance, he affirms in Christ the existence and operation of a Divine soul, and denies the existence and operation of a human one. In our simplicity, we have thought that it was the reverse. Not that the Person of Christ was destitute of Divinity: "For in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily"; but that, whatever soul he possessed, it was a human soul—the organ of the Divinity, the basis of its operations, the substance in which the Godhead was insphered, and through which it manifested its activities. The practical objections are more weighty, says he, than the theoretical ones. A man is thrust between us and the being we worship; the love and sympathy of Christ is not the very love of God, or of the Divine heart, but of a *Human* heart in conjunction with the divine; and the suffering of Christ is not *Divine* suffering, but that only of a man; and so the very meaning and vitality of the atonement, as a Divine *self-sacrifice*, is lost—p. 5. This "clumsy theory," as it is called, is set aside, and "the simpler—and to some more satisfying theory recently revived by a distinguished

preacher of our own country—of *one* nature in Christ, or the Divine soul manifested in a human body," is adopted.

Quoting from John's Gospel, the author truly says that by the Word is manifestly meant a *Divine Person.* We are not so satisfied with his rendering of i., 14: "The doctrine is, not that the Divine Word was *united* to a man, however close and intimate the conjunction, but that he *became* man."—p. 7. Why this fondness for the rendering, SARKS EGENETO, "was made flesh," *became* flesh? Is not the A. V. as accurate? The rendering *became* flesh appears as if the humanity of Christ grew out of the Logos. Well, this is just what the writer believes—that the humanity was not an outputting, but an evolution; not an assumption, but a development from the hidden and eternal Word. Would he render the fourth verse, EGENETO ANTHROPOS, "was a man," *became* a man? The Baptist "was made a man." The same verb and the same tense are employed in relation to the birth of John, and to the beginning of Christ's Humanity. The verbs EIMI and GINOMAI are employed with great accuracy in this chapter; the latter signifies to come into existence, to be created, &c. Both Christ and his Forerunner were made flesh or made men. The passage from Heb. ii., 16, does not afford much help to this "simpler, and to some more satisfying theory." "For verily He took not on Him the nature of angels; but He took on Him the seed of Abraham." The marginal reading is more correct: "For verily He taketh not hold of angels; but of the seed of Abraham he taketh hold." This quotation gives no support to the theory that Christ's Humanity was an outgrowth, an epiphany of a Spiritual and Divine Humanity. The seed of Abraham is here something external to the Divine Personality, outside of it, and distinct from it. It was seized by Christ, and made the vehicle through which he would effect the redemption of the Abrahamic seed, and by Synecdoche the human race. Again, this passage, by the employment of the present tense of the verbs, seems to refer to the incarnation more by implication than by direct reference. It was written some years after the ascension of our Lord, and points to His mediatorial work in heaven, where, filling the mercy seat, He taketh hold of that human nature which He attached to Himself and His incarnation, and through an actual realisation of those infirmities and sufferings which He endured becomes capacitated to be a merciful and faithful High Priest. The writer gives us the very kernel of this "simpler theory" in the following extract:—"Christ is not God and man *united*, each nature retaining its own separate individuality and functions, nor yet a fusion of the two, forming an intermediate and compound nature; but their *identity* in a Person who is *both divine and human in all His attributes.* The idea of the Scripture is not that the Logos *assumed* or put on humanity—except,

indeed, the outward form or body of man; nor that He united it to Himself as a foreign nature, but that He *became* man, without losing His real Divinity. The Divine in Christ *is* the human, and the human in *Him* is *Divine*."—p. 9. When transcribing this passage we wondered that if there be such an identity as is here stated, why the terms, human, man, humanity, were not dignified with the *capital*, equally with their co-relatives. This conception, said to be presented in a logical statement, perplexes us. It is made up of a negative and positive element—"Christ is not God and man *united*;" but "the Divine in Christ is the human, and the human in Him is Divine." The former content of the concept has not yet been proved from Scripture; the latter, in our opinion, cannot. What does the writer mean when he states that the Divine in Christ is the human, and the human in Him is Divine? Are not the Divine and the human two distinct Poles of being? Does the human contain the Divine? Is not the concept of the Divine an unlimited or an indefinite one, and is not the concept of the human bounded? Is not the human less than the Divine in every possible relation? If so, how can they be identical? Can the Absolute be both absolute and conditional? or can we have a finite Infinite or an Infinite finite? Is there an eternal and immutable humanity existing in the Godhead, having its being in the Divine essence from everlasting, and manifesting itself in time and space? If so, and our author forms that opinion, then does it not look like pantheism? He seeks to derive support from the fact that man is made in the image of God. We believe this, but does it follow that there is a "Humanity in the Deity, which is the original from which our own humanity is derived, and in the image of which it is made?" God possesses a form, says he, after, in, or through which manifestation the Logos was formed as the express image of his person, and that that image of the eternal Logos became the ground and mould after which humanity was created. But we ask, Is there in God a human form, that after that image the Son was begotten, and that that likeness became the pattern after which we were made? Is not this like Swedenborgianism? Anthropomorphism is employed to illustrate and emphasize this theory. In this book it is affirmed that there does exist in the Deity a true and real anthropomorphism, because God addresses us in human language, and because we can only conceive of Him through a human medium. Our readers are aware that these facts may be accounted for in another way, that the Diety could not make Himself intelligible to us by other means, and that to think about Him through any other than a human channel is simply impossible. Then the Theophanies of the New Testament are used to show that "Whenever God appears as a person, He necessarily appears as a *man*," and that therefore he must have possessed a heavenly

or a divinely human form. Certainly there was a necessity for the Angel-Jehovah to appear to the patriarchs, &c., in human form; but the crucial point is, had that necessity its root in the Logos or in the patriarchs? Was that human form in which the Logos appeared the eternal and immutable image in which he was begotten of the Father? or, was it an accommodation to the weaknesses and limitations of patriarchal existence? A quotation is taken from Phil. ii. 6-7,—"Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but (emptied Himself*) made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men." Says the writer, "it is not said or implied that He took a human soul, but only that He who was in the form of God divested Himself of this, and took the form of a man." Does not the expression, "form of God," imply the possession of a true and proper Godhead? and does not the expression, "form of a man," imply the possession of a true and proper manhood? If there be nothing left in the latter but the shell, will there be any kernel discoverable in the former? In this emptying of Himself, did the Logos impose such limitations and adjustments as to compress His divine nature and attributes into the narrow bounds of a human form? Did the pure and abstract Deity suffer any psychological compression in the incarnation? We think not. In what manner the Logos emptied Himself, and yet retained a true and proper Divinity, we cannot say; but we decline to accept the shrinkage theory here propounded, and it appears to derogate from the infinite perfections of His Godhead. In representing Hamlet, Othello, Desdemona, Shakspere merges his personality in those characters; but between the transpositions of genius and the *kenosis* of the Word an immense difference exists both in nature and degree. On pages 25 and 26 two conditions are stated as being required in a true theory of the incarnation: the first, that God shall be really and personally *manifested*: the second, Christ's *inferiority* to, and *dependence* on, the Father. Here it is denied that there was a true manifestation of God, if a distinct human soul was interposed between the Deity within and what was visible without. But what advantage is gained by this denial? Can God, or has God ever manifested Himself to man without any vehicle or tangible form? If the body of Christ was flesh and blood and something distinct from His divinity, did it not constitute an interposition? Were those actions which we predicate of the human divine? We are answered in the affirmative. Omitting those phenomena which belong to Christ's material organism, such as eating, drinking, fatigue, sleep, &c., was it a Divine soul or the Divinity within that suffered and expressed its

**eauton ekenose.*

agonies in groans and tears? or, were these the outcome of a human soul bruised and crushed beneath the sin of the world? As to Christ's inferiority to, and dependence on, the Father, the writer pushes this dogma to an extreme; for example, "Even His divine prerogatives are declared to be *given* Him from God." "For as the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself." Had the quotation been continued, the sense would have appeared somewhat different, "And hath given Him authority to execute judgment also, because He is the Son of Man." The life and authority which are here said to be given to Christ refer to His mediatorial work. These impartations do not imply the natural inferiority of the Son to the Father, but teach that in assuming the title and functions of the Son of Man those official gifts were bestowed." "Thou hast ascended on high: thou hast led captivity captive: thou hast received gifts in the man."* We admit that many passages of Scripture teach that Jesus Christ is inferior to, and dependent on, the Father, and the writer does well to marshal them; but we understand these texts to teach not an essential, but a functional inferiority and dependence. What will he make of those Scriptures which declare or imply the co-equality of the Son with the Father, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father, I and my Father are one," &c? As to the Saviour praying to His heavenly Father, we perceive no necessity for it if he were not a man possessed of human wants and liable to human temptations. His supplications do suppose a real dependence on God, inasmuch as He was made in all points like unto His brethren, sin excepted. His strong crying and tears proclaim with striking emphasis his human wants and feelings, and in thus seeking succour from on high, he hath left us a worthy example. "The Son *being* human, and not merely united to or clothed with humanity, is dependent on the Father, lives by the Father, prays to and receives from the Father, according to this true idea and law of humanity." This statement, in our judgment, detracts from the dogma of the Son's essential Deity; it introduces confusion into our conception of the doctrine of the co-equality of the Persons in the ineffable Trinity, and stands opposed to the belief of Christendom.

There is much in Sermon II., on "The Son of Man," that we can heartily endorse. The Sermon on "Christ the Root of Humanity" is disfigured by an uncharitable pronouncement on dissent. "A *sect* is a branch cut off (SECTUS) from the main stock, and seeking an independent life, as if it were the whole. Hence all sectarianism is in spirit, if not in fact, heretical and schismatic—a dividing of the body of Christ, not by natural division of growth, but by a vivisection and dismemberment.

**Ba-Adam*, in the man.

The fate of all such sects and divisions is, and must be, the same for them as for individuals. 'If a man abide not in me he is cast forth as a branch, and is *withered.*' To what church or sect does, or did, the writer belong? Which is the true church, and which are the sects that are threatened with such a doom? On this side of the Atlantic, Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Methodists are called sectaries. Does he mean that those churches are really separated from Christ the true Vine, or that they are divided from some state establishment? Are we to understand that these Christian bodies, charged with heresy and schism, will have to suffer ecclesiastical disintegration, or endure the doom of withered branches in the fire that shall never be quenched? If the former is meant, the writer appears to possess a very superficial knowledge of dissenting communities; if the latter, he is lacking in that charity which thinketh no evil. On "The Human Development of Jesus," we are taught that "His Divine consciousness being not distinct or separable from the human was subject to the same law of growth and limitation. The original Divine Logos come under the same law of limitation and increase in the person of Jesus, being graduated in its unfolding by the finite and expanding vehicle in which it was revealed." Does not this theory degrade the Word? As the consciousness of Jesus was not a human consciousness such as ours, but a "Divine consciousness," it must have undergone such psychical changes as to adapt it to an infantile capacity. Nay, farther, there must have been a point in the incarnation when the kenosis of the Logos was so absolute as to require the total abdication of consciousness. In the first period of infancy self-consciousness is wanting. The self-manifestation of the *ego* is not simultaneous with birth; it is a post natal experience. Did the Son of God so empty Himself of this *sine qua non* of intelligent existence? We may not dogmatise on this question, but to our way of thinking, this off-putting or suspension of consciousness on the part of the Son is equivalent to a denial of his Godhead. Then again, "The difference between Him and other men was not in His exemption from trial and moral discipline, nor in his impeccability or inability to do wrong." Had Jesus possessed a human soul like ours his liability to sin might have remained an open question; but we fail to see how Christ would be penable, if the consciousness within him was the consciousness of one who affirmed, "I and my Father are one." In the discourse on "The Image of God," man is justly lifted above the brute level on which some scientists place him; but in rescuing man from so ignoble an origin the writer draws dangerously near to the opposite error. "There is less essential difference between man and God than between man and the brute creation. For he is made a little lower than God, but

infinitely higher than the brute." It is questionable whether the use of the plural form ELOHIM with its cognate pronouns in Gen. i. 26, denotes a consultation in or by the Trinity respecting the creation of man. Besides, in the succeeding verses, whilst the plural noun ELOHIM is preserved, the singular pronouns are employed. May not the terms *Gods*, *ours*, *us*, denote merely the plural of address? To discover that image in which man was created we are directed to look within ourselves; it is to be sought by looking not without, but within. Very good, yet on p. 105 it reads that the whole teaching and Scripture seems to warrant the probable truth "that the 'image of God' includes the form as well as the spirit; that man was created outwardly, as well as inwardly, in the image and likeness of God—even of Him who is *the* Image of the invisible God, the first-born of the whole creation." The fundamental position assumed in this book is that the Deity possesses an essential human form, that in that archetypal likeness the Son was begotten, and after that image, external and internal, we are created. This is one of the vagaries of Swendenborg, and we opine that few of our readers will sympathise with it. The sermon on "The Human Trinity" is empirical—"And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." (1 Thess. v. 23.) Here the Apostle prays for the thorough and complete sanctification of believers; but are we warranted in building on this passage the tripartite theory? We admit that different terms are used by the inspired penman when writing about our spiritual nature; and such differences do exist between the flesh and the mind. But do the Hebrew terms *ruach* and *nephesh*, and the Greek terms *pneuma* and *psyche*, invariably denote the rational spirit and the sentient soul? Do the former embrace the reason, conscience, will? and do the other include those appetencies which we possess in common with the brute? Then what are we to make of the Hebrew word (*lebhabh*) "heart," and the Greek words (*kardia*) "heart," and (*nous*) "mind?" To what division of the human triplicity are we to relegate these terms? We are pointed to Phil. i. 27, "Stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the gospel." The Apostle exhorts believers to "Stand fast in (*eni pneumati*) one spirit," that is, to preserve their religious stability by the exercise of their intellectual and spiritual powers. But when he urges them "with (*mia psyche*) one mind" to strive together for the faith of the gospel, does he mean that they should wage this strife by the invocation and forth-putting of the fleshly and lower elements of our nature? Our translators have wisely rendered *psyche* "mind" as denoting that both in standing fast and in striving the highest and best qualities of our manhood

must be brought into requisition. Man is more generally represented in Scripture as a duality. If the body form one part of the human trinity, then we find in Mark xii. 30 a quadripartite division, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy (*kardias*, *psyches*, *dianoias*) heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind," &c. Given the (*soma*) body, here are the necessary elements from which we might possibly construct a quadriplicate theory. At pages 132-136 analogies are sought between the human and the divine as follows:—The spirit in man corresponds to the Father, the body to the Son, the animal life to the Holy Ghost. Again, the (*pneuma*) spirit is divided—the *will* corresponds to the Father, *reason* to the Son, *feeling* to the Spirit. The (*psyche*) soul is said to have a threefold life, viz., of understanding, of desire, and of sense. Several paragraphs are occupied in the attempt to prove that reason and understanding are distinct; that the former belongs to the spirit, the latter to the soul. The theory of hereditary depravity herein advocated is that "Man has a *physical nature* or 'flesh' which is inherited from Adam, and carries in it the taint or depravation, the disharmony and weakness, which the first transgression induced, and which all subsequent transgressions have aggravated and confirmed." The spirit made in connection with the image of God is inbreathed in connection or coincident with natural laws. The inborn depravity is only in the nature or "flesh." The spirit coming into the world in conjunction with a fleshly nature falls under the dominion of unruly desires, and so contracts sin. The discourse on "Man's Place in the Creation" is perhaps the most satisfactory one in the entire series.

The second part of the work we must leave. Our endeavour has been to indicate our objections to the author's theory respecting the Person of Christ; and we may thus be permitted to criticise any attempt at a solution of one of the most subtle questions in Christian dogmatics, without being required to formulate a Christological theory of our own. We repeat, that the orthodox view is attended with numerous difficulties; but whether this modernized Apollinarism presents us with a Christology that meets our ontological and Scriptural requirements, we leave our readers to judge. The council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), passed the following:—"Following the example of the holy Fathers, we teach and confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Deity, and the same perfect in Humanity, very God and very man, consisting of reasonable soul and flesh, of the same substance with the Father as touching His Godhead, of the same substance with us as touching His humanity; in all things like us, without sin; begotten of the Father, as touching His Godhead, before the æons; begotten in the latter days, for our

redemption, of the Virgin Mary, the mother of God, as touching His humanity; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten (do we confess), in two natures, acknowledged, *unmixed, unconverted, undivided,* so that the distinction of natures was never abolished by the union, but rather the peculiarity of each preserved and combined into one person and one hypostasis: not one, several, or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son and Only-begotten, Him who is God, Logos, and the Lord Jesus Christ."

THOMAS PARSONS.

ART. VI.—PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY.

BY REV. J. BARFOOT.

PARENTAL Responsibility signifies the trust involved in the possession of children. Let us glance at the duties inherent in this trust, the grounds on which they rest, and the importance of faithfully performing them.

Let us first consider *the duties inherent in the trust held by parents;* or, in other words, the duties which belong to the parental relation. These may be viewed under two classes: Nurture and Government. Look first at *Nurture.* This term signifies that which nourishes, as nursing during infancy and sickness, food, clothing, education, &c. It therefore includes instruction, both secular and sacred, as well as attention to the requirements of the physical system.

That parents are required to provide for their children's physical wants need not be argued before such an assembly as the present,* since we all believe in the Divine authority of the volume which declares that if any provide not for his own household he has denied the faith and is worse than an infidel (i Tim., 5, 8). Greatly is it to be regretted, however, that, as the wretched condition of tens of thousands of poor children in our land too clearly proves, many parents either do not admit this part of their duty or are unable or unwilling to perform it.

The nurture of the mind, which must now be considered, includes instruction both secular and sacred. The *secular instruction* should include much more than the three "R's," for these subjects may be regarded as rather tools to work with, than the gold earned by work; or, to use a still more homely figure—the plate, knife, and fork set out at dinner time, rather than the pleasant and nourishing food for which the hungry one craves. So thinks the State Education Department, which is widening the range of subjects taught in public elementary schools,

*The Nottingham District Association of Ministers, before which this Paper was read, at Leicester, in the Open Session, March 1st, 1877.

so as to make it include not only grammar, geography, history, &c., but also elementary lessons in science. In this all right-minded persons must rejoice, since it affords to parents the means of efficient secular education for their children, and this, too, on terms which all but the poorest and the most improvident may comply with. And they ought, unquestionably, to make use of the advantages thus offered, except, indeed, they are in a position either to impart the needful instruction themselves, or secure it by other means, such as private schools or private tuition; for though education is not, like food, essential to life, it is obviously most important in rendering life useful, successful, and happy. Yet how many parents, who go so far as to over-feed and over-clothe their little ones, are found guilty of starving their minds, forgetful of the words of Scripture, "That the soul be without knowledge it is not good." The excuse not unfrequently heard,—"I have got through myself without much education, and my children must do the same,"—is evidently founded in selfishness and inconsideration: in selfishness; else why should parents deprive their children of a valuable thing simply because they themselves did not, when young, possess it? And, then, the excuse shows inconsideration, since when many who are now parents were children the means of education for the offspring of the toiling masses were most scanty. It must, therefore, be both selfish and inconsiderate of a parent, when he says—'Because the means of education were not forthcoming when I was a child, I will not exert myself to educate my children, though the means of doing this at the present time abound.

Pure literature is no less essential to children than good day-schools. Children, if intelligent and fairly educated, will read. Books and periodicals are part of the daily food of their minds. But this food should be pure, else the results will be disastrous. We have recently heard of a youth who, to the intense grief of his parents, ran away from a good home, and, having become dissipated, went to sea. In after life he confessed that the reading of a publication called *The Boys of England*, with others of the same character, filled him with such a restless, dissatisfied spirit, that he could not settle down to the ordinary pursuits of life. Publications of the above sort abound; they invite attention at most newsvendors' shops; many of them are fascinating in character and appearance, being well written and splendidly illustrated; so that, unless children be guided by their parents in the choice of literature, poison may be swallowed instead of food, and what must be the consequence is quite plain.

But we must not leave this sub-division of our subject without remarking that parents should give their children a trade, profession, or occupation, by which to earn a respectable livelihood,

and help the needy. The neglect of this obligation is a fruitful source of poverty and crime. While in many things the Jews, we admit, are not to be regarded as models for Christians, we shall do well, whatever our position in life, to follow them in giving our sons and daughters, as they gave theirs, the means of leading a respectable life by following some settled and remunerative occupation. But in apprenticing children care should be taken to secure Christian masters and mistresses for them. We have heard of a Christian who apprenticed a son to an infidel. The consequence was that the youth was perverted to infidelity, and died a most miserable death. Such a fact needs no comment.

We now pass on to consider *the religious instruction* which parents are required to give their offspring. This is termed by St. Paul "The nurture of the Lord" (Eph. vi. 4), because it is commanded by Him, it is concerning Him, and leads to the true knowledge of Him. This includes domestic teaching, and also the instruction of the Sabbath-school and the house of God. Domestic instruction should comprehend the frequent reading of the Scriptures in the family, together with familiar, frequent conversation thereon. In Deut. vi. 7-10 much is said about talking in the house concerning God's Word, but nothing about reading it there. The reason for this apparent omission is found in the fact that families would not then possess even the fragments of Divine revelation which at the early age in question had been given. The same reason, too, was in operation for long ages after the whole of the Scriptures had been communicated to our race. Copies of even small portions of these Sacred Records were, commercially, of such value as to render their acquisition impracticable except by a favoured few. This famine of the Word of God having long ago been terminated by the printing press, every family may possess the Holy Volume, and both read and discuss its varied and precious contents. *Discuss*, we say, for such discussion or conversation will fix the wandering attention, and thus lead to a better understanding and recollection of the Scriptures than can be got by mere reading.

As before remarked, the Sabbath-school and the sanctuary should be made use of, not indeed to supersede, but rather to supplement, domestic instruction. Parents should require of their children regular attendance both at the school and sanctuary, and close attention to what is taught there. Moreover, to follow up a remark made in the previous paragraph, we observe that, in order to revive the recollection and aid the understanding of divine truth, questions should be put to them concerning the lessons and sermons of the day; but in such questions all unfavourable criticisms of preachers should be avoided, else children will learn to despise them, and disregard what they say. Such

enquiries concerning divine truth, repeated day by day, would benefit both parents and children. The same remarks will apply to the instruction imparted in day schools: both children and parents would derive advantages from domestic conversation on the subjects daily studied in such institutions. On the other hand, to teach our children, or send them to others to be taught, while omitting efforts such as these for assisting them in the retention and use of their knowledge is like teaching them to earn money, but take no care of it,—an act of folly which all parents should avoid.

The duties now under consideration ought to commence with the children's infancy, and continue until they attain maturity. The initial act should be the presentation of them to God in baptism; an act by which parents acknowledge His right to them, and, at the same time, secure the prayers of good people on their behalf. Such a proceeding, simple as it may seem, cannot fail, if attended to in sincerity and faith, to inspire the parent with a strong determination to train his children aright,—a course which must bring a life-long, yea, an everlasting, blessing on their heads.

Let us now pass to the *government which parents should exercise over their children.* That parents should not only teach but *rule* in their households, is perfectly clear; unless, indeed, children are to be left ungoverned at a time when too young to properly shape their course of conduct. The parent is the natural governor of the child; God has made him so; he rules by Divine right; and children are required to obey him in all things, a course of conduct declared to be well pleasing unto the Lord, Col. iii. 20. Abraham was commended by God for commanding his children and household, that they should keep the way of the Lord to do judgment and justice, Gen. xviii. 19. But Eli, a good man, doubtless, in many respects, failed in commanding his sons, and the painful results are well known.

The government, as we see, should include commands and corrections, both which, however, should be given in love. Children must be told what to do and required to do it; while rebellion and failure must be suitably chastised. But the commands ought ever to be reasonable, and the punishment for their infraction equally so. The parent's yoke, like that of Christ, should be easy, and his burden light. It should be a yoke of love. Moreover, family government, like church and national government, should be free from partiality; there ought to be in it no favouritism on the part of parents. If a fond father or mother will make Joseph a coat of many colours, but leave their other children without such a distinction, division and hatred in the family will almost inevitably result. Further, the government should extend to spiritual as well as temporal things; we must not only command children

in respect to honesty, truthfulness, industry, kindness, &c.; but must also, as before remarked, require them to attend God's house, to be regular at the Sabbath School, and to be present and conduct themselves seriously at family prayer; and when acts of transgression occur, administer proper correction. This is what St. Paul terms "the admonition of the Lord," Eph. vi. 4, that is, such commands as to what must be done, and such reproof of faults committed, as God requires, and such as will tend to inspire in children a proper regard for Him, and cheerful submission to His authority.

Such is the government which parents ought to exercise over their children; a government free alike from laxity and severity, from injustice and favouritism. It is notorious, however, that many come short of this. One is fitful, now winking at great offences, and then severely punishing small ones. Another punishes neglect of school or of work, but passes by the higher offence of neglecting God's house. While a third omits correction altogether, thus allowing his children to go unrestrained.

In family government father and mother should always act together, the wife supporting the authority of the husband, and the husband that of the wife. And when differences of opinion occur between them, such differences should be argued in private, and in no case be brought before the children. If the contrary course be followed, the authority of the household, being divided, will be broken, and disorder and misery must prevail; while the children, receiving opposite commands from father and mother, will not know which to obey. In illustration of this latter point it may be stated that once when a teacher read to his class the Scripture words, "Children, obey your parents," a little girl burst into tears saying, "I cannot do this, for when my father commands one thing, mother commands the opposite." This was a sad dilemma to be placed in, but probably many children are placed in a similar position in consequence of unfortunate divisions like the above. Such houses are divided and cannot stand.

Moreover, this government should begin while children are very young, else it may be found difficult, if not impossible, to begin it at all. Let children do as they wish during their first few years, and then you will afterwards try in vain to reduce them to submission. Young trees may be easily bent, but old ones will rather break than bend. Any signal instance of rebellion, early manifested, should therefore be resisted, and the spirit of the child subdued; then, in after life, struggles for the mastery, on his part, may be avoided. But if you yield to him once, you must do it again, do it always, and acknowledge that he governs you, not you him.

If parental teaching and government are to succeed they must be backed by *example*. The conversation and general deportment of

parents in the presence of their children should be pure. No profane, passionate, or even coarse word should be spoken; no wrong or even questionable act performed before them; else they, being young, ignorant, and confiding, will, in all probability, be deluded by parental example, mistake wrong for right, and thus acquire habits of sinning which, during after years, it may be difficult to break off. Further, in all cases in which the same duties are binding alike on parents and children, parents, while enforcing such duties on their children, should themselves perform them. For example, do they command the reading of Scripture, attendance at God's house, speaking the truth, &c., then they should exemplify such precepts before their children, else what is commanded will almost inevitably be neutralised by what is exhibited.

The immense influence of example is known to all. If, as the proverb states, it is more powerful than precept, it follows that when found clashing with precept it must prevail over it. We see this fact illustrated all around us. Drinking and smoking parents, however they may caution their children against drinking and smoking, usually find their cautions unheeded. Their offspring follow the parents' acts rather than their words, and imitate their extravagant and injurious ways. And the same remark applies to other practices, as well as the above. But when example and precept are both right, their united influence is very great in leading children to goodness and to God.

And let it be specially observed that both instruction and government should be accompanied by prayer to God for His blessing, without which all human effort must end in failure. Prayer should be earnest, since the blessing required is so great. It should be offered in strong faith, for the promise is not only to us, but to our children. We should urge it, therefore, in all confidence, for God will ever be as good as His promise. Moreover, all prayer must be offered in Christ's name, He having by His death procured for us the blessings for which we pray, and God the Father being pleased freely to grant us them for His sake. Further, this prevailing prayer should be offered with them daily in the family circle, and *for* them in the closet.

Who can calculate the influence of prayer—its influence in family instruction and government? It availeth much in disposing young minds to desire, receive, and understand instruction. It availeth much, also, in promoting submission to parental authority. Where efforts to teach and rule families properly do not succeed, it ought to be considerd how much the failure may arise from the lack or feebleness of prayer. And, on the other hand, where such efforts succeed, the success is generally due in a large degree to prayer.

Are parents responsible for the conversion of their children?

We reply—Certainly not; for conversion depends on the acceptance of proffered grace by the convert himself, and such acceptance implies liberty to reject the blessing as well as liberty to accept it. This liberty, in the nature of things, cannot be transferred to another, not even to a parent; the child who has attained the age of accountability must repent and believe for himself, must pray, must accept Christ as his own act and deed, before he can be saved. If, then, parents cannot guarantee their children's conversion, how shall sponsors (who actually do this) accomplish what they undertake? But leaving godfathers to settle this matter, we observe that a parent can do much by precept, example, and prayer, towards securing his children's conversion, though unable absolutely to secure it. He can, like Abraham, command them to keep the way of the Lord; or, like Joshua, resolve that he himself will serve the Lord, and that his household shall, while subject to his control, do the same. He can train them up in the way they should go, so that in after life they may not depart from it. We repeat, the parent, God helping him, can do these things. He is therefore bound to do them, and if he fulfil such obligation, failure in securing his children's salvation will be very rare indeed.

Let us now consider *the ground on which parental responsibility rests.* This is found in the relations which a parent sustains to his children and to God. Take the first of these—the *relation of parent to child.* This relation is very intimate and very tender. It is one of nature, blood, affection. Children are the pledges of conjugal love, the living images of their parents. And while their little, engaging actions, and their innocent, broken prattle afford to parents continual interest and delight, how loudly their helplessness appeals to them for protection and succour, their ignorance for instruction, their waywardness for control and correction! For who should be held responsible for meeting these claims of childhood but the parent, who realises day by day the joy inspired by his children? The duty before us is founded in the nature of things; it is a law written on the heart, and that not only of man, but also of the irrational creatures which, with but few exceptions, carefully protect and tenderly succour their young. It is, we repeat, a law written in the heart. Hence, before (so far as appears) any revelation on the subject had been received, the patriarchs, guided, no doubt, by the above-named law of nature, were conspicuous for attention to parental duties. Abraham and Job are striking instances of this. Those parents, therefore, who, amid abundant Gospel light, neglect their children, will be condemned by the patriarchs, who, with but little, if any, of such light, or at least with but little of it, faithfully performed their paternal duties. Yea, the very beasts will, as it were, condemn them, for such neglect is a crime against nature.

We frequently see on railway tickets the words, "Not transferable," and we may with propriety (except, perhaps, in the adoption of children, a matter, by the way, too exceptional to interfere with the argument) write these words in relation to Parental Responsibilities. We may get help in the performance of parental duty—the help of Sabbath and day school teachers, ministers, &c.—but we cannot transfer our responsibility to them. We ourselves must see that our children are properly taught and governed, or take the consequences of neglect. Those parents, then, who turn over their children to teachers for religious and secular instruction, and take little further care of them, are, to say the least, not faithful to their trust.

The other ground of Parental Responsibility is the *relation* of *Parents to God.* We mean their relation as parents to Him, a relation springing from the fact that they are parents, and which, before they became parents, had no existence. Children are God's property, and parents stand between their children and Him much in the same manner as a man stands between his wordly possessions and Him; and as the owner of property, whether little or much, is held responsible for its proper use, and will be called to account for the same; so parents are held responsible to God for the efficient training of their children—a trust far more precious than wealth—and He will call them to account in like manner. The Bible contains God's will on this, as well as on every other religious subject. He therein commands us to teach our children His word, to talk of it with them in our house, and in our daily walks (Deut. vi. 7, 20; Ps. lxxviii. 4, &c.); to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord (Eph. vi. 4). He there shows us how David and Solomon taught their children; the latter writing the Book of Proverbs, principally, as it seems, for his son; how the mother of King Lemuel instructed him (Prov. xxxi.); how successfully Timothy's mother and grandmother taught him (2 Tim. i. 5, iii. 15); how Abraham commanded and Job prayed for his family (Gen. xviii. 19; Job i. 5); and how sadly Eli failed in correcting his wicked sons (1 Sam. ii. 22, 25, and 29). In these several instances God teaches by example. Moreover, seeing that the duties in question are very heavy and important, God has supported parental authority by Himself commanding the obedience, fear, and honour of children to parents (Ex. xx. 12; Lev. xix. 3; Col. iii. 20). He has supplied notable instances of submission in Isaac and in Jeptha's daughter, both of whom were willing, at their parents' command, to lay down their lives. Further, we have, in Jer. xxxv., the beautiful example of the children of Rechab refusing wine, &c., at their father's command, and receiving signal marks of God's approval for so doing. While, on the contrary, Absalom's rebellion against his father's

authority cost that handsome young Prince his life. In fact, such heavy penalties were, in the old dispensation, attached to the sin of disobeying parents as clearly proved that in God's sight it was no common crime (see Ex. xxi. 15-17). The benevolent object of the Almighty in all this is to strengthen the authority of parents. But who does not see that even this, by making parental duties easier, renders them also more binding, and the punishment for neglecting them more severe.

Let us consider, thirdly, and with brevity, *the importance of faithfully discharging parental duties;* or, in other words, the importance of practically regarding parental responsibility.

In the first place, it is of great importance to parents themselves. What can be more terrible than to have bad children, or what more joyful than to possess good ones? For, as the pen of inspiration declares, "A wise son (and, of course, this holds good of a daughter as well) maketh a glad father, but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother," Prov. x. 1. "A foolish man despiseth his mother," chap. xv. 20; a sad requital, this, for all her labours, anxieties, and pains! Again, "A foolish son is a grief to his father, and bitterness to her that bear him," chap. xvii. 25. "A foolish son is the calamity of his father," chap. xix. 13. Ah calamity, indeed, compared with which nearly all other calamities are but trifles! How David's heart was broken by the evil conduct and tragical death of his beautiful but foolish son, Absalom! How poor Eli was crushed by the sad fate of his wicked sons! And, since then, similar grief has been endured by thousands of parents, yea, is endured now—grief which arose, and which now arises, from a similar cause. The means of prevention, however, are happily placed in the parents' own hands; these consist of the duties about which we have spoken. Hence, it is written, "Correct thy son, and he shall give thee rest; yea, he shall give delight unto thy soul" (Prov. xxix. 17). "The rod and reproof give wisdom, but a child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame" (chap. xxix. 15). "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." Such is the rule. Should any depart from the way in which they have been taught to walk, they must bear their own heavy doom, while parents will be pure from their blood. But how awful will it be at the last for careless, prayerless, godless parents! It is of immense importance, we remark, that parents should faithfully perform the foregoing duties, since they will thus escape punishment and gain reward themselves, and also afford their children the means of doing well if they choose. We say, if they choose, for alas! some do not choose. Great is the guilt of such, and their punishment will be severe. The vast majority of children, however, if properly trained, will walk in the

good way. So says the Word of God, and experience agrees therewith. Such children will hear the instruction of their father, and forsake not the law of their mother; and the instruction received shall be an ornament of grace to their head, and chains about their neck (Prov. i. 8-9). They will keep their father's commandment, and forsake not the law of their mother; will bind them upon their heart, and tie them about their neck. And when they go these instructions shall lead them, to keep them from the evil woman, from the flattery of the tongue of the strange woman, as well as from other evils (chap. vi. 20-24); for the reproofs of instruction, given by good parents, are the way of life; seeing that children thus trained will set their hope, not in money or sinful pleasure, but in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep His commandments (Ps. lxxviii. 7-8). What a blessing came on the Rechabites for their filial obedience! Children of godly parents, noble will be your heritage if you prove obedient and pious!

And of what importance is all this to the Christian Church! For, as parents improve in discharging the duties they owe to their children, the church will get more and better teachers and scholars than heretofore in its schools, more and better members in its ranks, more and better stewards to manage its affairs, more and better ministers and local preachers in its pulpits, more and better missionaries on its distant stations, and more and better financial supporters of its varied operations. Could Paul have been the able defender of Christianity which he was but for the excellent education and discipline which as a Jewish youth he received in his early days? Or, could Timothy have been a bishop so soon as he was (if at all) had not his mother and grandmother early taught him the Scriptures? Very many, we thankfully admit, have become zealous and useful who never had proper parental training, but still the bulk of those who form the working staff of the various churches are the children of godly parents. Let such parents, therefore, be immensely multiplied, then the progress of Christianity will be greatly accelerated, while the Redeemer shall see in such progress of the travail of his soul and be satisfied.

Nor are these matters of less importance to nations than to churches, for nations, composed as they are of families, must in character be what those families are. Well trained children generally develop into sober, intelligent, loyal, patriotic, industrious, philanthropic, public-spirited citizens; while neglected boys and girls become, in the majority of cases, drunken, disloyal, ignorant, selfish, criminal. The children composing the one class are the pillars and ornaments, the strength and glory of nations; the other, their weakness, danger, disgrace. One of the burning questions at present for social reformers and statesmen is—What can be done with our city Arabs, our uncared-for children? a

burning question, arising from the fact that many parents neglect and misgovern, and which, so far as prevention is concerned, will be satisfactorily answered when, and only when, the said neglect shall disappear, and parental duties be generally discharged.

ART. VII.—BISHOP BUTLER AND HIS SERMONS.

(*Continued from page* 188.)

IT is worth while to notice how this effect of moderation is produced, how genuine it is; for, after all, if moderation and quietness of tone once become fashionable, we should have our writers, given over at present to extravagance, learning and practising it as a trick: as there comes in dress, now and then, a fashion of plainness and sober colours, and all the dandies of both sexes become as Quakerish as turtle-doves. Butler impresses us with moderation and quietness of manner. Extravagance, one-sidedness, partizanship in thought, makes extravagance and grotesqueness in style. To see only one side, to give up one's self to all that makes for one's own notion, to shut the eyes to everything that makes against it, to leap at conclusions we wish, to make light of difficulties, to insist there is but one way, and that ours,—this is the sure way to violence in manner, to heated rhetoric, to barbaric ornament and paint laid on one's style. In short, to be genuinely moderate one must be reasonable. And it is the charm of Butler that he is so purely and impartially reasonable. If one goes to his author for arguments ready made, for strong points against the other side, for what will give the victory in discussion, and not for truth,—then he would do better to leave Butler unread. For while he has the greatest weight of thought on moral and religious subjects of any writer, he never drives his point, or argues merely to make his case. It is because he so carefully gives every opposing voice a hearing, considers all arguments, and, as it were, habitually understates his own case, that at last the weight of conviction preponderates so greatly with him. You cannot refuse great weight to the views of a man who has anxiously, dispassionately, fairly, examined all sides, and yet finally, modestly but firmly says,—thus it appears to me; so I see the truth. And that is the impression Butler leaves on his readers. He takes us with him because he leaves nothing unrecognized or unweighed behind him. After all, it is the weight of character in the man that produces this great effect on us.

Let us look at an instance or two of this moderation, and yet weight of utterance. He is speaking on the duty of compassion:

> Thus to relieve the indigent and distressed, to single out the unhappy, from whom can be expected no return either of present

entertainment or future service, for the objects of our favours; *to esteem a man's being friendless as a recommendation; dejection, and incapacity of struggling through the world, as a motive for assisting him;* in a word, to consider these circumstances of disadvantage, which are usually thought a sufficient reason for neglect and overlooking a person, as a motive for helping him forward: this is the course of benevolence which compassion marks out and directs us to: this is that humanity, which is so peculiarly becoming our nature and circumstances in this world.

Perhaps the reader will wonder what there is in this passage that it should be singled out; it is so quiet. But the force is simply in the thought; the sentiment: it is not an argument; nor an exhortation: neither logic nor passion go with it. But I confess that on reading it for the first time it impressed me with a sense of the nobility and sweetness of the grace of a true compassion, such as few other uninspired writers have ever awakened. That one expression—"to esteem a man's being friendless as a recommendation,"—seems to me to gather up a whole world of motive and suasion irresistible to make one in love with charity; and that following one, beginning—"dejection and incapacity."

Perhaps I might leave this as a crucial instance of our author's moderation and yet largeness of utterance. But I will call attention to just another passage of the same sort. It is in the conclusion of the great sermon, "Upon the Ignorance of Man," a discourse that I should feel disposed to rank as one of the most religious and inspiring of merely human writings. One ought to keep it by him to read as a tonic when he finds his tone relaxed by the sceptical atmosphere of the day, or by a too keen sense of difficulties and darknesses that hem in one's path through life. But to the passage—He has dwelt on the truth that knowledge is not our happiness, nor the acquisition of it our real business, further than it is needful to enable us for the duty of life. This he sets forth and urges in a strain that more than any other passage I know of in any language reminds of the loftier and more religious passages of Plato; a strain full of solemn sweetness and inspiration; and then concludes:—

Our province is virtue and religion, life and manners: the science of improving the temper, and making the heart better. This is the field assigned us to cultivate; how much it has lain neglected is indeed astonishing. Virtue is demonstrably the happiness of man: it consists in good action, proceeding from a good principle, temper, or heart. Overt acts are entirely in our power. What remains is, that we learn to *keep our heart*; to govern and regulate our passions, mind, affection: that so one be free from the impotencies of fear, envy, malice, covetousness, ambition; that we may be clear of these, considered as vices seated in the heart, considered as constituting a general wrong temper; from which general wrong frame of mind, all the mistaken pursuits, and far

the greatest part of the unhappiness of life, proceed. He who shall find out one rule to assist us in this work, would deserve infinitely better of mankind than all the improvers of other knowledge put together.

How solemn, how lofty; yet how sober. No gorgeous rhetoric, no contortions of style here;—but what weight!

But I have not done yet with the passage quoted before. Let us go back and look at it again. Read it over deliberately; let the force of it come into the mind. Is there any quality besides those of *quietness* and *largeness of tone* that strikes one in it? I think there is. I think almost any one who considers how he is affected by it will be aware of an impression of what, for want of a better word, we call *sweetness*. The man that wrote that, we feel, is a loveable man. "*To esteem a man being friendless as a recommendation;*" why, to conceive that, to believe it a practicable rule of life, to utter it soberly, not for effect as a fine saying, but as a maxim for daily common use, is of the very essence of sweetness. And now we will speak of this quality in our author.

It is a little difficult for one who has made the acquaintance of Bishop Butler through the tedious hours spent over his "Analogy" in the school-room to understand how any one can praise him for sweetness. "Sweet!" it will be said—"Do you call that sweetness? I for my part have found nothing so persistently dry." Well, dry often our good Bishop is; but there is dryness and then —there is dryness. There is a dryness as of dust; and there is a dryness, like that of a well-seasoned nut, that is also sweet. At any rate, with the "light" in Bishop Butler there goes always abundant sweetness. What makes sweetness? In one word, temper. A selfish man cannot give sweetness; neither can a proud man; nor a domineering man who loves rule; nor an envious, captious soul. No man that is dominated by one idea will be sweet; neither one who never has leisure, who is in a chronic hurry. All these things spoil the temper, and, as laid down above, it is temper that makes sweetness. Now Butler impresses one with that charming quality in all he writes. This quality I will attempt to describe as it diffuses itself through his pages; though I fear I shall have to define it mainly by negatives, by showing what it is not.

He is sweet then, I think, for one thing, by the absence of self-consciousness. After we have read him, and pass in review the general impression, we are aware that we were not struck with any obtrusive sense of his personality; and very delightful that always is. Delightful, but only negative, the decided absence of a bad flavour. We only become aware what an element of charm it is by recalling for the sake of contrast the effect produced by other writers. What is it in so many of our modern fine writers

that grates on us? Is it not a glimpse of the writer's vanity? We detect him looking at himself, so to speak, in the glass. Some little personal detail, some turn of the sentence, betrays the chief interest of the author to be fixed, not on this subject, but on the figure he is cutting, the fine thing he is saying. This is a favourite vice of our age. A hundred years ago hardly anybody was self-conscious: now, whatever else our writers may or may not be, they are all as disagreeably conscious of themselves as if they lived in Horace's famous room that was lined with mirrors, and could not open their eyes without seeing themselves in some posture. Some tastes, I believe, like this self-contemplation in a writer. In the infinite possibilities of private appetites acquirable for all sorts of monstrous flavours there is no telling what some palates will not like; but all such introspection and consciousness of one's fine phrases and happy thoughts is destructive of anything like sweetness. I do not know why, unless because it gives one an impression of insincerity, frivolity, in the writer. We go to him for a serious utterance, and in the middle of his speech he stops to make a grimace, to display his rhetorical skill, to call attention, by some turn or other, to his profundity or acumen; and there is an end of all sweetness. Now Bishop Butler never makes a grimace, never looks at himself in the glass, never is anything but seriously and unaffectedly absorbed in what he has to say.

Another feature that makes for sweetness in Butler is his freedom from any tone of contempt. He never puts on airs of superiority, or sneers. And yet he is no mushy optimist, to whom all character, good or bad, is the same. He is not devoid of humour and a fine sense of the ludicrous and absurd, and even of the contemptible, in character; only there is that large sense of things, ever predominant in his nature, which drowns contempt in pity at the spectacle of human baseness. Take for a specimen of fine irony this passage from a sermon on the "Government of the Tongue." Here is a contemptible fault exposed and condemned, and yet with a noble charity and dignity that makes us feel how loveable and sweet a nature may be even in condemnation:

> The Wise Man observes that *there is a time to speak, and a time to keep silence.* One meets with people in the world who seem never to have made the last of these observations. And yet these great talkers do not at all speak from their having anything to say, as every sentence shows, but only from their inclination to be talking. Their conversation is merely an exercise of the tongue: no other human faculty has any share in it. It is strange these persons can help reflecting that unless they have in truth a superior capacity, and are in an extraordinary manner furnished for conversation, if they are entertaining, it is at their own expense. Is it possible, that it should never come into

people's thoughts to suspect whether or no it be to their advantage to shew so very much of themselves? * * * And if we consider conversation as an entertainment, as somewhat to unbend the mind; as a diversion from the cares, the business, and the sorrows of life; it is of the very nature of it that the discourse be mutual. This, I say, is implied in the very motion of what we distinguish by conversation, or being in company. Attention to the continued discourse of one alone grows more painful often than the cares and business we come to be diverted from. He therefore who imposes this upon us is guilty of a double offence; arbitrarily enjoining silence upon all the rest, and likewise obliging them to this painful attention.

On the whole, he leaves on us the impression that it is distasteful to him to have to find fault. He approaches the baser side of human nature with reluctance; he condemns with sadness; leaves off as quickly as possible. He has no turn for satire. He is devoid utterly of the instinct for finding the weak places, the sore spots in human nature. Satirists there must be, and fault-finders, critics and all that tribe; and abundantly useful they are. They help to sweeten the world, but they are not sweet themselves. The business of fault-finding is at best the business of second-class natures. The Law is less than the Gospel: Moses is inferior to Christ. Even when the condemnation is right and necessary, and pronounced in the spirit of sorrowful justice, it is the less noble function. What shall we say then of those writers whose whole stock in trade is the evil and malodorous things of life; who are always pulling down, never building up; and who are never so happy and witty, and full of fire and enthusiasm, as when lashing something or somebody. It is one thing to be glad that evil is punished, and another thing to delight in the infliction of the punishment. If we bear that in mind, it is easy to understand how it is that many preachers and popular writers, who say the truest things, and are busy lashing only those that deserve the severest scourging, are among the most odious of writers. They have no sweetness; only the most opposite quality.

One more negative feature: Butler is free from anything like partizanship; and how attractive a quality that is. We all know writers who think just as we do, whose convictions and conclusions are identically ours, but whose advocacy of the common cause is simply detestable. They are our allies; but,—defend us from such allies. And then there are antagonists who by their fairness, their frankness, their generosity, draw us to them, though we fight against their conclusions. I am sure there are writers in the other camp from myself whose company I find a great deal sweeter and more wholesome than some in our own. Light does not necessarily make a man sweet; it is the way he holds it, maintains it, imparts it, that constitutes sweetness. For sweetness is, after all,

from the temper. Making truth a private property of our own; treating all attacks on it as a personal affront; fighting for it as if the great end were to get the victory, and not to have the truth still more clearly the truth;—all this is partizanship and hateful. One must read through Bishop Butler's writings to feel how impossible it is for him to be a partizan. With him you feel yourself after awhile perfectly safe: if he is against you, he will state your case more fairly than you would yourself; if he thinks with you, he will not let you glide over any difficulty too easily. And when he has come to a conclusion, it is not *his* victory: he has no interest in arriving at it than any one else, for it is only the truth he desires; and that is the interest of every man. There is a passage in the conclusion of his sermon on "Balaam" that expresses this solemn candour. It puts as much of the whole man into one paragraph as could be:—

> Things and actions are what they are, and the consequences of them will be what they will be: why then should we desire to be deceived.

What a vivid sense of the reality of things, of the folly of tricks and attempts to smooth things over in this universe, is here. It seems to me that out of such largeness of soul, such freedom from the small twists and cross-grained strains that beset human nature, sweetness distils naturally.

On thinking over the effect this great writer produces on me, I am not quite satisfied with the explanation of what we have agreed to call sweetness given above. I suspect I have overlooked one element, the most potent of all, a positive element; for though one may come near describing what sweetness is by negatives, by showing that it is not this nor that, it after all has a positive quality, a substantial something in it that affects the mind with a unique, individual effect. When I look about for one word to express this quality I find nothing better than this—*generosity*. There is in these writings a certain trustfulness, an absence of suspicion, an expectation in the mind of the writer of meeting a response to the noblest and loftiest thoughts. Look through his sermons, through all his writings, and you will not find a word that appeals to the lower part of man, no bitterness, no cynicism, no little digs at the opponents of the writer's views. He does not approach his readers as if they were at bottom base, and therefore to be suspected and held at arms' length, and played upon in their meaner passions. He is noble himself, and he believes in our nobility; at any rate, he will believe in it until we show him irresistibly that he is mistaken.

Is it irreverent to say that in this we are reminded of a likeness to the Great Teacher? When He came the common people heard Him gladly. Even vile and common natures vibrated responsive

to His touch. Men felt themselves better in His presence: they were better. His charity, His generosity, His clear-sightedness, that recognised under all layers of sinful habit and feeling a vein of sensibility to truth, a root of conscience that could make the owner feel he was wrong and aspire to be right—these moved the common people. He created, as it were, nobility and better possibilities in a man by crediting him with them: see, for instance, his treatment of Zaccheus. This subtle element of influence, Christianity, wherever it actuates men and women in their conduct towards their fellows, still exerts, and exerts with ever increasing power. Its exhibition of love and confidence towards men, born as it is of God's love and confidence, touches a spring of hope in the race. But I am going out of the way. What I would impress is, that there is this noble tone of confidence, of appeal to something high and good in his audience, in Bishop Butler. He arouses self-respect; he makes us long to be as good, as reasonable, as noble as he takes us to be. He draws a picture of what it is reasonable, what it is worthy of a man to be and do, and then he leaves it before us; as if to say,—You are a man; you recognize what is right; you have a conscience, a heart: is not this true; is it not what you should practise? And then, if we have not practised it, a burning shame seems to spring up in us that we are not as noble as he took us to be.

Now I know this is not the received method of awakening a sense of wrong and a longing for something better. It is generally believed that one must be plied with all kinds of motives of a baser sort, fear, and pride, and overwrought appeals to passionate sensibilities; and that, too, is true. Man is an almost infinitely complex being: there are moods and stages of barrenness and degradation that need the use of what really seem vile instruments to cut into his nature, the sharp edge of fear, the corrosive of shame, the fiery stimulants of passion and pathos,—even bathos. Whole classes of men are too far down in the slough for any such fine tones as those of Bishop Butler ever to reach them. Every one of us has a vein of baseness in him that at times seems to impregnate all the rest of character, and put him out of affinity with the noble methods of this authority. But there are chords in men's natures that do respond to the noble treatment; and there are passages of Butler's discourses that make one's whole being rise up and do homage to goodness, rise up with a fresh inspiration of love to God; passages that purify and sweeten the whole circuit of one's nature.

Take such a passage as this:

But since in many cases it is very much in our power to alleviate the miseries of each other; and benevolence, though natural in man to man, yet is in a very low degree kept down by interest and competitions,

and men, for the most part, are so engaged in the business and pleasures of the world, as to overlook and turn away from objects of misery; which are plainly considered as interruptions to them in their way as intruders upon their business, their gaiety and mirth: compassion is an advocate within us in their behalf, to gain the unhappy admittance and access, to make their case attended to. * * * Pain and sorrow and misery have a right to our assistance: compassion puts us in mind of the debt, and that we owe it to ourselves as well as to the distressed. For, to endeavour to get rid of the sorrow of compassion by turning from the wretched, when yet it is in our power to relieve them, is as unnatural as to endeavour to get rid of the pain of hunger by keeping from the sight of food.

At that sentence, "For, to endeavour to get rid of the sorrow of compassion," etc., one feels a revolt of his whole being from the hardness and indifference we so often suffer ourselves in towards the misery of others. It is as if an angel had suddenly set a mirror before us and showed how hideous is the face of an uncompassionate soul. And yet there is no strong language here; no hysterics of denunciation; no scorn; no threatening of damnation. It is the effect of a noble nature looking on us out of its pure and heavenly eyes of truth, and speaking to us of evil and sin, with a winning confidence that we can have no affinity for them. The strongest impulse to abhor evil comes from the confidence some noble and pure soul has in us that we share its revolt from sin and baseness. And that, I take it, is one secret of the penetrating, suasive power this great writer exerts. So we come, after all, to the somewhat ordinary conclusion; that it is pure and lofty goodness that makes sweetness, and that Bishop Butler is sweet because he is so pure and good.

I have not left myself much space to speak of the solemn tone of reverence that pervades all his writings. Reverence, if by that we mean a conventional use of certain hackneyed expressions of awe, at God's greatness and power and justice and the like, is nothing uncommon. But the real sentiment, pervasive, moulding the character, shaping the thoughts, modulating the utterance, is rare enough. Not in the older writers: they all have it: it belongs to their age: they were born into it; so to say, steeped in it. Whatever else might or might not be essential to religion, the first thing in their view was a reverent attitude of the soul towards God and all that belonged to Him. But we have changed all that. It has been said in commendation of one of the greatest of living preachers that he speaks of and prays to the Divine Being as though He were a man round the corner. Bishop Butler never speaks of God as though He were a man round the corner; he never speaks of Him, indeed, as though He were an intimate friend, if by that is meant a person of whom one is at liberty to say whatever comes

into one's head. Though to do that, even, would hardly be a liberty in Butler's case, for it would never come into his head to think of God what it seems it is religion now to conceive and utter freely concerning God, His purposes, wishes, feelings, government.

I do not mean that we find in his writings any extreme expression of self-depreciation with respect to God; which is sometimes taken to be the meaning of the term reverence. Nor that he lavishes any adulatory panegyrics on the Almighty; another style of showing reverence for Him. But that his mind habitually stands in the attitude of deep adoration to the Highest; that he never loses sight of the fact that God is past finding out; that it is not reasonable or becoming to permit ourselves to speak or think of Him as we do of men. In short, he is for the most part silent as to speculation concerning the Nature, Being, and Government of God, as one stands silent before the majesty of the ocean, or under the canopy of the midnight sky. It is when he turns to practical life, to the exercise of virtue and religion, that he is ready to speak. The best account of a true reverence is given in his own words, in his incomparable sermon on the "Ignorance of Man:"

But it is evident that there is another mark set up for us to aim at, another end appointed us to direct our lives to: an end, which the most knowing may fail of, and the most ignorant arrive at. *The secret things belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law.* * * Other orders of creatures may, perhaps, be let into the secret counsels of Heaven; and have the designs and methods of Providence, in the creation and government of the world, commmunicated to them: but this does not belong to our rank or condition. *The fear of the Lord, and to depart from evil,* is the only wisdom which man should aspire after, as his work and business. * * Our ignorance, and the little we can know of other things, affords a reason why we should not perplex ourselves about them; but no way invalidates that which is the *conclusion of the whole matter, Fear God and keep His commandments; for this is the whole concern of man.*"

This reverence that is silent before God, that puts its hand upon its mouth, and its mouth in the dust, is characteristic of Bishop Butler. It is not so much what he says of God, nor the manner in which he says it; but rather what he refuses to say: this silence that falls on him when he comes to certain limits; his refusal to pry into what is veiled; his abstinence from pushing doctrines to the extreme, and insisting on making all things about God clear. Take this passage on Heaven and its employments:

When we speak of things so much above our comprehension, as the employment and happiness of a future state, doubtless it behoves us to speak with all modesty and distrust of ourselves. But the scripture

represents the happiness of that state under the notion of *seeing God, seeing Him as He is, knowing as we are known, and seeing face to face.* These words are not general or undetermined, but express a particular determinate happiness. And I will be bold to say that nothing can account for or come up to these expressions, but only this, that God Himself will be an object to our faculties, that He Himself will be our happiness; as distinguished from the enjoyments of the present state, which seem to arise, not immediately from Him, but from the objects He has adapted to give us delight.

Is this too reserved? Do we ask for more definiteness, particularity? The spirit of reverence says, no: it is a presumption to insist on speaking where God is silent. How strongly this self-restraint contrasts with the methods of multitudes of our modern teachers and preachers. These talk as if they were all prophets and apostles who had been caught up to the seventh Heaven. They know all about it. They know who is there, and what they do, even to the food they eat and the clothes they wear. It is this that is irreverent, this shameless attempt to snatch aside the veil that God has drawn, this prying with childish curiosity into the solemn secrets of the vast unknown, this familiarity with the Divine Nature, as if it were only a slightly magnified human nature, this free handling of sacred things in the light of the market, the shop, and the banking-house, this daubing over the person of God with the commonest clay from the high-way and the ditch, under plea of making religion familiar and real. Real, indeed, we want our religion to be, and real our sense of the Being and overshadowing presence of God; but a reality that is attained by outraging and at last slaying all reverence in the soul, is a reality that will not stay religious long. A reality without reverence, a familiarity with God that drags Him down to our cheap and sordid moments, and makes Him common as our commonest business and pleasure is common, is only profane.

This is a danger of the religion of the day. In escaping from the frigidity of a past age, when religion was frozen up and locked away in mere abstractions and formalities, we have gone over to a style of speech and thought concerning sacred things that is little short of indecent. We grow accustomed to everything: it is one of the penalties of wrong practice that one does grow callous to what is shocking; and so one listens unperturbed, even religiously, to sermons, prayers, exhortations, that were it not for the knowledge one has of the speaker's intent, might be taken for blasphemies, or grotesque jokes. Even so good and wise a man as Mr. Moody, the prince of awakening preachers, has fallen into the snare. Think of a prophet, and surely Mr. Moody is a prophet, to be loved and revered as a prophet—think of a prophet telling us that "there is no discount on God's I wills"! Now, that is

plain; it is pungent; it makes men wake up, and rub their hands, and say—This is business; this is to the point; but who in his better moments does not feel that it is a piece of flat irreverence? I do not hesitate to say that if it were left to me to listen to a prophet who habitually talked of God in the odious language of the street, and the stock-exchange, and the shop,—in short, made God and religion as common, as sordid, as the talk of the shop, and the Exchange, and the street are sordid, or to listen to no prophet,—I would find it more religious to sit in silence, with the Bible alone for speaker. I turn to this grave and reverend soul for relief.

I do not know that all I have been able to say of this great figure will make him seem more attractive to those who are deeply in love with the present fashion in thought. Very possibly his real merits will look to many of us like faults or deficiencies. His largeness some will find vague. His moderation and sweetness, after the sharpness and vehemence of our modern utterance, will very likely seem mere prosiness, tame, sleep-provoking. As for his generosity, it will not be strange if some should stigmatize it as unevangelical; and for his reverence, there is one point of view from which doubtless it will look like lukewarmness and a lack of heart-religion. There are no virtues, I believe, that are not esteemed vices in some latitudes: forbearance our American Indians regard as cowardice; humility the Ancient Greeks called mean-spiritedness; truthfulness the modern Hindoo despises as mere puerility and ignorance of the world; and even among our own communities I understand there are those who sneer at chastity as the mark of a milk-sop. But wisdom is justified of *all* her children: *i.e.*, in the end, in the long run she is. For the time being she may be pelted with many hard names, and taken even for the stupidest and vilest kind of folly; but at last her day comes.

Bishop Butler may be greatly out of tune with the religion of the day. I think he is. So will many others. Only they will insist it is the Bishop that is off the key; while I maintain it is the age that needs to be tuned up to his pitch. But here and there, one and another falls out of the company, and insists there is something to be mended. And more fall out. And after a while the day of those who think with Bishop Butler will come. In the meantime we cannot do better than read him again, and imbibe something of his temper and way of looking at the great questions of life. Even if we shall never quite return to seeing things as he saw them, yet it will help to enlarge our means of judging what is best for our day, by knowing how life looked to good men in an age quite different.—*Abridged from the American Quarterly Review.*

ART. VIII.—FRANCIS ASBURY.

THE apostolic evangelism of Asbury has scarcely a parallel in history. His toils and successes are some of the richest memorials of Christian service. With a heroism that no dangers or difficulties could daunt, and a faith that nothing but success could satisfy, he traversed a course of six thousand miles a year, over mountains and prairies, through forests, rivers, and swamps, publishing with an earnestness and eloquence peculiarly his own Heaven's message of mercy, to aborigines and emigrants, slaves and planters, hunters and squatters.

"I reckon him," said Dr. Dixon, "the second man in Methodist history; and in the extent of his labours, and the variety of incident connected with them, he is not the second but the first man in our community." Mr. Tyerman says, "Among the self-denying, laborious Christian ministers of the past eighteen hundred years we believe that Francis Asbury has no superiors, and but few that can be considered equals. And yet, how little does the Church Catholic—indeed, how little does the Methodist section of it—know concerning this great and grand, because good, old man." A review of the life of this prince and model of modern evangelists cannot fail to be instructing, stimulating, and improving.

In August, 1745, Francis was introduced into this world of changes at Hamstead Bridge, Handsworth, Birmingham. His parents were "of the common people, honest and industrious." Being their only son, they were anxious to bestow on him as good an education as possible, but the master's severity caused the lad to prefer anything to school, consequently, by his own choice, he was apprenticed to a blacksmith, and for six years and a half laboured at a forge. Here is a link in the providential chain! His forge life developed and strengthened those physical powers so severely tested as a pioneer preacher.

When a guileless lad, through Methodist agency his mother found God's free forgiveness; henceforth, with more than maternal solicitude, she sought her son's salvation. He was early moved with aspirations after God, and truth, and holiness. These aspirations were nourished. He began to pray, to read his Bible, and regularly attend the old parish church of West Bromwich. Many would have said he was religious. He was everything but satisfied and happy. At this eventful period, mainly through his mother's, influence, he attended the Methodist meetings in Wednesbury. He writes, "I soon found this was not the Church, but it was better. The people were so devout—men and women kneeling

down, saying Amen. Now, behold; they were singing hymns—sweet sounds! Why—strange to tell—the preacher had no prayer book, and yet he prayed wonderfully! What was more extraordinary—the man took his text, and had no sermon book; thought I, this is wonderful indeed!" Now comes the turning of the tide in the history of his spiritual nature. A plain, earnest, godly man spoke to him personally of his sin and his Saviour. "By his conversations and prayers," says Asbury, "I was awakened before I was fourteen." It was an easy and natural thing to do; but what high moral purposes and mighty issues grew out of that act! What marvellous potentialites are in earnest, loving words for Jesus! Weeks intervened before he brought his broken, burdened, believing heart to the loving Saviour.

Possessed and animated by the love of Christ, he commenced active efforts in the Master's service by holding meetings for prayer, bible readings, and exhortations in his father's house and elsewhere, which were mostly Bethesdas to the spiritually diseased. In his seventeenth year he became a class leader, and a year afterwards preached his trial sermon in "Manwood's" cottage. Asbury's after life invests that lonely and antique building with imperishable interest. "Behold me now," he observes, "a local preacher, the humble and willing servant of any and every person that called on me by night or by day, being ready with hasty steps to go far and wide to do good; visiting Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire, and, indeed, almost every place within my reach for the sake of precious souls, preaching generally three, four, and five times a week, and at the same time pursuing my calling." At the call of the Church, when twenty-one years of age, he quitted home and manual labour for the self-denying and exhaustive life of an itinerant minister. From 1766 to 1771 he earnestly and faithfully scattered the Gospel seed in various parts of the Midlands; the dews of Heaven descended, the seed had fructifying power. When he entered the ministerial ranks he felt himself to be "exceedingly ignorant of almost everything a minister of the Gospel ought to know," but he toiled hard in the workshop of mental culture, and gathered stores of knowledge.

A critical crisis had arrived in the civil and ecclesiastical life of America. The colony was about to claim its independence. Events were rapidly preparing the revolution. The Church's position was perilous. The revivals in which Edwards, the Tennants, and Whitfield had figured had diminished in lustre, and everywhere spiritual destitution and decay prevailed. The most august revival recorded in history since the days of apostolic triumph was about to sweep over the continent—a reformation to be accomplished, the extent of which it is impossible to measure, and

the value and importance of which it is equally impossible to exaggerate, and the principal agent was a man taken from a humble walk of life, and destitute of early educational advantages; that man was Asbury. Competent authority pronounces the prosperity of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America to be unequalled in history, and that prosperity is mainly traceable to the expansive evangelism and administrative ability of the blacksmith's apprentice.

Here is another aspect of providential purpose. In the early part of the eighteenth century a colony of refugees from the Rhine provinces settles in Ireland. Mr. Wesley preaches to them with amazing success. One, Philip Embury, becomes a class leader and local preacher. From sheer destitution they are driven to emigrate to America. Who could foresee the far-reaching and indescribable results which proceeded from this dispersion? Probably, the first Methodist sermon ever preached in America was addressed by Philip Embury to five persons, including a black servant, in his own house. These poor Palatines formed themselves into a society class, with Embury as leader. This was the germ of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America. The work thus commenced rapidly grew under the fostering care of Embury, Captain Webb, and Robert Strawbridge, when in 1769 Mr. Wesley sent out the Revs. R. Boardman and J. Pilmore.

For six months prior to the Conference of 1771 Asbury nursed the high and holy purpose of offering himself for foreign service. He volunteered to go to America. In two or three weeks he was ready for the voyage, "without one penny of money;" but the Lord soon opened the hearts of friends, who supplied him with clothes and ten pounds. After a sail of eight weeks, he and his colleague, R. Wright, landed at Philadelphia, on the 27th of October, 1771. Gratified with his reception, favourably impressed with what he saw of the people, irresistibly drawn to his colleagues, whose labours had been much blessed in New York and Philadelphia, with self-sacrificing devotion, and a faith vigorous and venturesome, he entered on those labours which extended over forty and five years.

Recognising the command of Christ to the first publishers of the Gospel, and believing in evangelistic effort as the simplest, mightiest, and most rational agency for the spread of religion, Asbury consecrated mind, heart, and life to this branch of Christian service. When he arrived, there had been no attempt to form a circuit. The two preachers exchanged city pulpits at stated intervals. He was disappointed. He expostulated and entreated, but was opposed. Calm and dauntless, he was "fixed to the Methodist plan," and writes, "I am willing to suffer—yea to die, sooner than betray so good a cause by any means. It will be a

hard matter to stand against all opposition, but through Christ strengthening me I can do all things." . . . . . "I am dissatisfied. I judge we are to be shut up in the cities this winter. My brethren seem unwilling to leave the cities; but I think I shall show them the way. I am in trouble."

With calm discernment he laid his plans, then prudently and prayerfully prosecuted his purpose. Though opposed on the second Saturday after his entrance into New York, he entered on that work which conferred so mighty an inheritance of spirituality upon "wondering, weeping thousands," preaching in "taverns, court houses, private dwellings, and in the open air." In a few weeks he had formed around the city an extensive circuit; preaching places opened, homes were procured, and persons of all classes formed into congregations and societies. Every personal and selfish consideration consumed by the fires of a holy enthusiasm, outward opposition and persecution gave him no anxiety. The work spread with the rapidity of a prairie fire. "Men who neither feared God nor regarded man, swearers, liars, cockfighters, card players, horse-racers, drunkards, and others are now so changed as to become new men, and are filled with the praises of God." He writes, "Went to a place called Hell Corner, so named because of the desperate wickedness of the people; yet even here God brought many poor souls to himself. Oh! how many poor souls have we to seek out in the wilds of America, who are but one remove from the poor Indians in the comforts of civilized life; and considering they have the Bible in their hands, comparatively worse in their morals than the savages themselves."

Time travels. Events thicken. The long continued struggle between England and her American colonies reached its terrible crisis. Men's hearts failed them for fear. As loyal subjects of the old monarchy the Methodist preachers were in peril in a revolutionary country. Asbury's colleagues left him during the war. When urged to return to England, he said, "I can by no means leave such a field for gathering souls for Christ as we have in America. It would be an everlasting dishonour to the Methodists that we should leave three thousand souls, who desire to commit themselves to our care; neither is it the part of a good shepherd to leave his flock in the time of danger, therefore I am determined by the grace of God not to leave them, be the consequence what it may." Noble resolution! Such self-sacrifice and heroism for God and truth commands our gratitude and admiration.

Formidable dangers and difficulties beset him. His carriage is shot through. He is fined five pounds for preaching. Officers require him to sign the usual test of allegiance to the State authorities, but he promptly refuses. For two years he takes refuge in the house of Judge White, Kent county, Delaware. He says,

"I am in some heaviness. But it is no wonder: three thousand miles from home, my friends have left me. I am considered by some an enemy to the country—every day liable to be seized by violence and abused. However, all this is but a trifle to suffer for Christ." Despite the difficulties of his situation, and perpetually recurring attacks of fever, and other forms of illness, he not only may but must do something for the good of others. He is not content with catechising his friend's family, but at the risk of liberty and life steals out after dark, and, through the gloom of the woods, visits neighbouring cottages, scattering the seeds of life eternal. He writes, "God has given me two as the children of my bonds." Much of the time was spent in prayer, reading the Bible and Greek Testament. Notwithstanding the risk and inconvenience, his excursions became more frequent, extensive, and useful. Looking back upon the season of seclusion thirty years afterwards, he describes it as the "most active, the most useful, the most effective part of my life, ... the children and the children's children of those who witnessed my labours and my sufferings in that day of peril now rise up by hundreds to bless me."

The war turned the tide of emigration West. Thousands in families and in groups settled in far-away wildernesses, forests, valleys, and the recesses of mountains. Asbury, aware of their religious disadvantages and destitution, felt an agony of desire to brave the hardships and make the sacrifices required for such to receive and enjoy Gospel privileges. Certain natures would have pronounced the task impossible, but by the force of his unconquerable will Asbury rendered it possible and practicable. He leaves his voluntary confinement in Delaware. "Equipped for personal protection from military interference with a certificate of citizenship, and a note of recommendation from his friend the Governor of the State," he sets out on his self-imposed mission. He is not a sleek, dignified gentleman in broad cloth and kid gloves; but a slender, tall, sinewy man, with a remarkably firm and elastic step, a lofty forehead, full expressive eyes, and open and benignant countenance, with an heart full of zeal, and yearning with pity for the perishing. The consecrating energy of heaven has fallen on his spirit. To him life is no holiday, but full of stern duties and still sterner sacrifices. He stands on the threshold of toils, successes, and sufferings which have, perhaps, never been surpassed, but his spirit is refreshed and strengthened by the practice of "twelve times of prayer" daily. Clad in a suit of "homespun," on the back of his indispensible horse, he is away over rough roads and bridgeless rivers, through swamps and pathless forests, sometimes guiding himself by the sun when visible, or by the courses of the stream, or by the different shades and textures of the bark on the trees, to

preach to every variety of character in cabins, barns, or woods. He rests at night, it may be, up in the branches of an immense tree, or in the cane break, the swamp, or on the moss, by the side of a pinewood fire, kindled not only to ward off the midnight damps, but to scare away the wolves and bears, with his saddle bags for his pillow, and no covering save the canopy of heaven; at best in the log cabin of some friendly settler, with the door safely secured against the attacks of ferocious and sensual savages with their scalping knives and tomahawks, or in the shanty, on which is announced in characters of charcoal, "Akomidation fur man and beast," where, on loose boards, covered with a bear skin, a buffalo skin, or a tick filled with shucks, he lies down to sleep, and "if it rains or snows, has the benefit of the hydropathic treatment without fee or charge." Dangers are innumerable and incessant. A storm rages, thunder peals through the echoing forest, and trees, torn from their roots or broken through their stems, fall to the earth with the noise of artillery. Annoying insects, wild beasts, prowling Indians, white criminals, outlaws, and "rowdies" abound. He is compelled to do duty as sentry over an emigrant camp. Holy and apostolic as he was, he would have "thought it a squeamish absurdity to hesitate at shooting any of the savages who lay in wait to slay, burn, or devour." He remarks, "I acknowledge the goodness of God in preserving my health, life, and horse from these people. They are very vile, rob, steal, and murder one another with impunity. . . . . My trials are great. . . . . Rocky roads, poor entertainment, uncomfortable lodgings, little rest night or day. . . . . We set out for Crump's—over rocks, hills, creeks, and pathless woods and lowlands. With great difficulty we came in about two o'clock, the people looking almost as wild as the deer in the woods. Preached on Titus ii. 10-12."

His evangelistic enthusiasm is an invaluable bequest to the Christian Church. It is as genial as sunshine, refreshing as an April shower, and fragrant with inspiration, force, and effectiveness. If it is impossible to imitate his labours, we may emulate his virtues.

His life is full of surpassing interest to preachers. His intellectual gifts were not of a high order, and his early educational advantages very slender; yet, with unremiting attention, he acquired an amount of information truly astonishing when we consider his circumstances. Daily on horseback, "and lodging mostly in the cabins of the wilderness, where there were neither books nor facilities for study, and when in the cities and towns holding quarterly meetings, councils, conferences, and having the care of all the churches, temporal as well as spiritual, himself originating and acting as agent for all the institutions of the church, the wonder

is that he was able to prosecute with success any department of study. As it was, he made himself acquainted with Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, besides taking a thorough course of reading in theology, church history and polity, civil history, and general literature." He was a man of method. He rose at four, when not travelling, gave ten hours a day to study, and when not engaged in public, retired to rest at eight. His pulpit preparations were not conducted in some snug study, surrounded by commentaries, theologies, and pulpit helps; if indebted to the forest for a night's lodging and entertainment, whilst the whole surrounding scene witnessed to the wisdom, power, and goodness of God, his knee would bend in prayer; after which he would take his Hebrew Bible or Greek Testament from his saddle bags, sit down and read his text in the original; or, if staying with a Christian brother, would rise at the usual hour, and pursue his studies by the light of a blazing pine knot while the family were asleep. Going to the fountain head of inspiration, no wonder he was mighty in the Scriptures. Nor are we surprised that his discourses were richly enamelled with forest imagery. The want of some popular pulpits is a lamentable lack of the Bible. Asbury's ministrations were marked by a free and admirable use of the Word of God. His simplicity of character and earnest desire to save souls prompted him to study plainness of speech, and to use the practical parts of Scripture. It is not astonishing his ministry was rich in spiritual results when we remember that mountain top and lowly valley, waving woods, rolling prairies, and murmuring waters, the hospitable homes of the wealthy and the hunter's hut became sacred oratories where he wrestled, agonised, and prevailed, several times a day, for the promised presence and power of the Holy Spirit. Clad in the omnipotence of faith, dignified, and self-possessed, delivering in a calm, full voice, which he could moderate at will from tones of tenderness and pathos to those of the most thundering declamation, the subduing, saving, and sanctifying truths of the Bible, is it any marvel that governors, judges, senators, lawyers, planters, settlers, and slaves should have been the seals of his ministry? In America he preached more than seventeen thousand sermons, packed with the seeds of life eternal, and all radiant with salvation for the lost and holiness for the saved.

"Asbury was a very excellent preacher, though not an orator," says one; "he was dignified, eloquent, and impressive; his sermons were the result of good sense and sound wisdom, delivered with great authority and gravity, and often attended with divine unction, which made them as refreshing as the dew of Heaven." Another who knew him well bears this testimony: "Asbury was the only preacher I ever heard who preached to his text; he never preached from it, as many do who select a passage as the mere

theme of a discourse, the discussion of which would be as applicable to an axiom of Coleridge as to the text; but he would start a proposition, and in its elaboration would come direct to the text. With him proposition, argument, illustration, incident, everything was immediately drawn from, or directly connected with, the subject of discourse."

Here are a few extracts from his marvellous journal. He writes, "It is a grief to me that I cannot preach as heretofore. I am greatly worn out at fifty-five; but it is a good cause; God is with me; my soul exults in God." In the midst of difficulty and privation he records, "I feel wholly given up to do or suffer the will of the Lord, to be sick or well, to live or to die, at any time, in any place—the field, the wood, the house, or the wilderness. Glory be to God for such resignation! I have little to leave except a journey of five thousand miles a year, care of more than one hundred thousand souls, and the arrangement of more than four hundred preachers yearly, to which I may add the murmurs and discontent of ministers and people." In the midst of suffering and weakness he wrote, "I preached here possibly for the last time. I spoke in great weakness of body, and having offered my service and sacrifice I must change my course. . . I am happy, my heart is pure, and my eye is single; but I am sick and weak and in heaviness by reason of suffering and labour. Sometimes I am ready to cry, Lord, take me home to rest! Courage, my soul!"

Boardman, Pilmore, and Wright were clever and estimable men, but lax disciplinarians. Through the short-sighted forbearance and compliance of the first, and the carelessness of the last, Wesley's mode of administration had been greatly and generally neglected, and the people were in a state of depressing disorder and disunion. This defect Asbury resolutely resolved to rectify. For him to enforce rule was to enlist opposition. Notice his strong individuality and force of character, as set forth in the following quotation: "I have come to this country with an upright intention, and by the grace of God will make it appear. I am determined that no man shall bias me with soft words and fair speeches, nor will I ever fear (the Lord helping me) the face of man, or know any man after the flesh, if I beg my bread from door to door." A few days after his appointment to Philadelphia he notes: "Preached with some sharpness. In the evening I met the society and kept the door." Further on we have this record: "Many were offended at my shutting them out of the society meeting, as they had been greatly indulged before; but this does not trouble me. While I stay, the rules must be attended to, and I cannot suffer myself to be guided by half-hearted Methodists." This was the raw material from which the pioneer bishop was formed. He was twenty-seven years of age, and he had not been a year in the work when he

records: "I received a letter from Mr. Wesley, in which he required a strict attention to discipline, and appointed me to act as Assistant." Age does not always constitute experience. The change of relations between Boardman and him made no difference in their affection for each other. Asbury says, "We agreed in judgment about the affairs of the society, and were comforted together."

The rapidly rising movement was exposed to perils within and without. The sacramental controversy was then raging, and unless wisely manipulated would result in disastrous disruption. Sealing ordinances had been received at the hands of Episcopalian ministers; scores of persons were earnestly demanding their administration by their own preachers. Asbury told them plainly that such a thing was contrary to the Methodist plan, and that he could not agree to it; but he wisely forebore to coerce them. He would not by an arbitrary exercise of power repress practices of which he highly disapproved; to do so would provoke violent opposition. His forbearance, wisdom, and magnanimity soothed and settled some of the difficulties, and cemented and sweetened the bonds of the believing brotherhood.

Troubles arose from the need of a superior organization. Wesley and the English Conference, Asbury and his transatlantic brethren, were convinced American Methodism should be constituted into a separate church. Asbury and others desired the personal presence and supervision of Wesley; but this was impracticable. The founder sent out Thomas Rankin, a man who had filled a creditable place in English Methodism, with full powers to act in his name. Asbury rendered the new superintendent cheerful assistance, and, though he acted with prudence and conciliation, new and hitherto unknown difficulties overtook him. Those difficulties so thickened that Asbury contemplated a removal to Gibraltar. A short time after cherishing such an intention, he receives orders from Wesley to return to England, which was providentially prevented. By the succeeding Conference he is appointed to Norfolk, Virginia. "Beginning with a sermon at five o'clock in the morning in Norfolk, he is off the same day to Portsmouth; plunges 'through such a swamp he never saw before' to preach to a neglected people, and telling them that every civil society has its proper rules, and persons appointed to see them kept, and that every member forfeited his rights to membership if he wilfully transgressed them." Without discipline, he notes, "We should soon be a rope of sand, so that it must be enforced, let who will be displeased." Within a few weeks he had formed a circuit, including eight preaching places.

When the country was throbbing with political excitement, and loyalty to the British crown had become a crime, Mr. Rankin and

others deemed it prudent to retire. After the war-storm had swept over the country, Asbury took the helm and piloted through perils till 1784.

Fifteen eventful years had passed since the arrival of the first preachers. There were now one hundred and four preachers and fifteen thousand members. The Episcopalian form of government was chosen, and Dr. Coke appointed superintendent, with authority to set apart Asbury as his colleague. When informed, Asbury says, "My answer was, if the preachers unanimously choose me, I will act." This decision furnishes proof of his surprising legislative ability. Had he accepted it simply in virtue of Mr. Wesley's appointment, a very different character and complexion would have been given to American Methodism. His office as bishop was invested with great authority, but by his choice it became delegated power. He was subject to the General Conference, composed of representatives from all districts throughout the land.

On December 25th, 1874, the Conference assembled in Baltimore, in Lovely-lane Chapel—itself a monument of Asbury's successful early labours. It was composed of sixty preachers, every one well known to Asbury, all debtors to him, to a greater or lesser extent, for the best elements of their character, and some of them his personal converts. There are two strangely linked together by what might seem a carnal incident, whose names are Pedicord and Ware. The former, a man of distinguished piety and zeal, was also noted for his fine tenor voice and skill in singing. He was labouring in New Jersey in 1871, when one day, while riding slowly on the highway to an appointment at Mount Holly, he was singing—

> "I cannot, I cannot forbear
> These passionate longings for home;
> Oh! when shall my spirit be there?
> Oh! when will the messenger come?"

A young soldier of the Revolution, wandering in a neighbouring forest, heard him, and was deeply touched, not only with the melody of his voice, which was among the best he ever heard, but with the words, especially the last couplet. "After he ceased," writes the listener, "I went out and followed him a great distance, hoping he would begin again. He, however, stopped at the house of a Methodist, and dismounted. I then concluded he must be a Methodist preacher, and would probably preach that evening." That evening the youthful soldier heard him. Pedicord thus became the spiritual father of Ware, one of the most pure-minded and successful of early Methodist itinerants for nearly fifty years, the founder of the denomination from New Jersey to Tennessee, from Massachusetts to the Carolinas, and by his pen the best contributor to its early history.

This Conference resolved that a separate church should be formed, under the name of the "Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States," with the offices of deacon, elder, and bishop. By the unanimous concurrence of his brethren, Asbury was set apart first as a deacon, then an elder, and then a bishop. His diocese extended from the Atlantic to the Mississipi, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the St. Lawrence. His visitations comprised a course of six thousand miles a year, preaching at all important meetings, presiding at all Conferences, stationing all preachers, and transacting all business connected with the Church, for which he received a salary of sixty-four dollars a year and his travelling expenses. How strangely the amount of labour and remuneration contrasts with those of British bishops! Here is a a fragment from the bishop's journal. The mountains are "rough and difficult to climb. We were spoken to on our way by most awful thunder and lightning, accompanied by heavy rain. We crept for shelter into a little dirty house, where the filth might have been taken from the floor with a spade. We felt the want of fire, but could get little wood to make it, and what we gathered was wet. Coming to the river next day, we hired a young man to swim over for the canoe in which we crossed, while our horses swam to the other side. The waters being up, we were compelled to travel an old road over the mountains. Night came on. I was ready to faint with a violent headache. The mountain was steep on both sides. I prayed to the Lord for help. Presently a profuse sweat broke out upon me, and my fever entirely subsided. . . . . Our host woke us up at four. We journeyed on through devious lonely wilds, where no food might be found except what grew in the woods. We stopped at A——'s. Our supper was tea. That night our poor horses got no corn, and the next morning they had got to swim across the river. I lay along the floor on a few deer skins with the fleas. Oh! how glad should I be of a clean plank to lie on as preferable to most of the beds." Take another extract. "Much and long-loved solitude not to be found, unless you choose to run out into the rain in the woods, six months in the year. I have had for thirty-two years occasionally to submit to what will never be agreeable to me. The people are amongst the kindest in the world, but kindness will not make a crowded log cabin, twelve feet by ten, agreeable. Without are cold and rain, and within six adults and as many children, one of them all motion. The dogs, too, must be sometimes admitted. Amongst my other trials I have taken a foul skin disease, and considering the filthy houses and the filthy beds I have met with, it is perhaps strange that I have not caught it twenty times. I do not see that there is any security against it but by sleeping in a brimstone shirt. Poor bishop." As a servant

and soldier of the Cross, this kind of life contrasts favourably with the luxurious ease of English Episcopalian palaces.

As bishop for two and thirty years, he steadied the helm and guided the ship of the church, moulded its character, created its agencies, and quickened its activities. He visited almost every part within and over the lines of the United States. He sometimes rode on horseback over the worst of roads at the rate of three to four miles an hour—five thousand miles in eight months. Readers of *Uncle Tom* have a vivid picture of what an American country road is. Travelling in the early days of Asbury was very different from what it is now. As the pioneer bishop, he was exposed to the dangers of forest and flood. His course constantly lay through swamps, creeks, and deserts. He had often to thread his way through the endless mazes of some woody wilderness, and to ford rivers in contrast with which our greatest rivers, the Thames, the Severn, and the Humber, even in the last miles of their short course, are but small streams. He sat in not less than two hundred annual Conferences, their entire business generally devolving on him, and consecrated no fewer than four thousand preachers—travelling and local—all of whom received and retained some favourable impression of the bishop. "In the intervals of Conference he made out all the stations alone, often dropping on his knees, then rising and writing down appointments according to the wisdom given him." Observe the spirit in which he discharged his duties. "I found my heart led out in prayer for those to whom I cannot preach. The Lord is my witness that if my whole body, yea, every hair of my head, could labour and suffer, they should be freely given up for God and souls." "In 1771 there were about 300 Methodists in New York, 250 in Philadelphia, and a few in Jersey. I then longed for 100,000; now I want 200,000; nay, thousands upon thousands." At the time of his death, 1816, the number was more than 200,000. The Rev. F. W. Briggs says: "The church constructed, animated and extended by the life and activity of which Francis Asbury was the principal medium, and, in the subordinate sense, the centre and source, numbers, with its ten offshoots, nearly 3,000,000 members, and includes in its congregations about 8,000,000 souls; and the church property alone of the Methodist Episcopal Church is estimated at 74,875,000 dollars.

Evidences of his superior legislative and administrative abilities are furnished in the *Articles of Religion* and the *Book of Discipline*, mainly compiled and afterwards revised by him. The educational establishments originated by him, and the laws he principally enacted for the deeds relating to church property, the qualifications of elders and deacons, the use and sale of intoxicating drinks, and on slavery.

American Methodism is immensely indebted to the practical sagacity of Asbury, as shown in the formation and working of the "Book Concern," which has now two publishing houses, five depositories, a capital of nearly 800,000 dollars; its twelve editors, its nearly 500 clerks and operatives, its more than twenty cylinder and power presses, its nearly 30,000 different publications, its fourteen periodicals, with an aggregate circulation of over one million copies per month."

Asbury was the first to establish Sabbath-schools in America. In the year 1786 he began a school in the house of Thomas Crenshaw, Hanover, county Virginia, from which he afterwards welcomed one of its converts as a minister. "The Sunday-school Union has become one of the most important auxiliaries of the book concern, with its four periodicals having an aggregate circulation of more than 260,000 per number. Its catalogue of publications include more than 1,300 different works, with an annual issue of about a million copies; and its Sunday-school libraries report nearly two and a half millions of volumes. More than 230,000 conversions have been reported in its schools in the last fifteen years."

Writers on America, from Mrs. Trollope to Mrs. Stowe, have described with more or less appreciation those favourite institutions of our transatlantic cousins, "camp meetings." Asbury took a prominent part in the initiation and early working of these unique services, by which thousands amidst the solitude and dangers of the wilderness were preserved from practical ungodliness and heathenism.

In 1785 he, in conjunction with Dr. Coke, started on the shores of the magnificent Chesapeake Bay Cokesbury College, the first of many institutions which have already exerted so important an influence upon the education of America.

Here is the once plain, robust man, weather-beaten as a tar or a forester, a son of the people, owing all his knowledge of English and Hebrew to his own hard work, and all he is to the grace of God, without accomplishments, but with much knowledge and prodigious virtues, full of years, and honours, and influence, with the infirmities of seventy years, and the self-denying services of half-a-century pressing heavily on him, putting in the last entry of his journal, "My consolations are great; I live in God moment by moment." His end is approaching. His sun sets in a cloudless sky at the home of his friend, Mr. Arnold, of Friedricksbury, Virginia, March 31st, 1816, aged 70 years.

He was a man of untiring energy, invincible determination, and dauntless courage. He was eminently social. This was one secret of his success—his passport to the hearts and homes of his people. He was not an iceberg, but a sunbeam. Children interested him;

he rarely omitted an opportunity of speaking to them in the families where he sojourned. Perhaps there are to-day more children bearing the name of Asbury than any other American Methodist. He was unmarried. "If I should die in celibacy," he says, "which I think is quite probable, I give the following reasons for what can scarcely be called my choice:—I was called in my fourteenth year. I began my public exercises between sixteen and seventeen. At twenty-one I travelled. At twenty-six I came to America. Thus far I had reasons enough for a single life. It had been my intention to return to Europe; but the war continued, and it was ten years before we had a settled lasting peace. This was no time to marry or be given in marriage. At forty-nine I was ordained bishop in America. Among the duties imposed upon me by my office was that of travelling extensively, and I could hardly expect to find a woman with grace enough to enable her to live but one week out of fifty-two with her husband. Besides, what right has any man to take any advantage of the affections of a woman, make her his wife, and, by voluntary absence from her, subvert the whole order and economy of the marriage state, by separating those whom neither God, nature, nor the requirements of civil society permit long to be put asunder. It is neither just nor generous. I may add to this that I had but little money, and with this little I ministered to the necessities of a beloved mother till I was fifty-seven. If I have done wrong, I trust God and the sex will forgive. It is my duty, I know, to bestow the pittance I may have to spare upon the widows and fatherless girls and poor married men."

A man of such self-consuming zeal could not be a niggard. His warm heart and open hand prompted him to give what he could afford, or what he could sacrifice, to aid others. His clothes were often worn to shabbiness, and his watch and boxes even sold to minister to the necessities of others. He writes, "I study daily what I can do without."

Judged by the acts of his life and the results since his death, modern ages have never seen such a bishop as Francis Asbury. He constructed the Episcopal office after the apostolic pattern. He was not a lord over God's heritage. Dr. Coke said, "I exceedingly reverence Mr. Asbury; he has so much wisdom and consideration, so much meekness and love, and under all this, though hardly to be perceived, so much command and authority." He blended authority with kindness, firmness with considerate fidelity. His remonstrances were compassionate, his reproofs regretful amidst their faithfulness, and his warnings all the more solemn because of their evident sympathy. As a ruler he was no temporiser nor trimmer. He was not known to have practised an intentional imposition upon any one. He writes: "I am happy in the consideration that I have never stationed a preacher through enmity or as a punish-

ment. I have acted for the glory of God and the good of His people, and to promote the usefulness of the preachers."

Asbury furnishes the finest example of consecrated common sense. His piety was as devout as it was benevolent, and to his power with God he owed no small measure of his influence over men. His apostolic character and exemplary conduct did more for Christianity than folios of argument. "Be ye, therefore, followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises."

THOS. DAVIES.

ART. IX.—THE PASTORAL OFFICE, AS SET FORTH IN THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

BY REV. JOHN WATSON.

PART III.

WE have yet to consider the hints (certainly scanty) contained in the Pastoral Epistles concerning ministerial rule or government. This has to do both with individual members of the Church, and the guiding and ordering of matters in the Church as a whole. In the first respect it is connected, in a complementary way, with the discharge of the minister's duties as a servant, already treated of. Alike in the exercise of the teaching office and the care of souls, there is a point where service ends and rule begins. Thus Titus is instructed not merely to exhort, but (of course in the name of the Lord) to command. Titus ii., 15. And certainly it is an easy step from earnest exhortation (*parakalein*) and solemn rebuke (*elegchein*) to formal command. But if the command is not regarded, but defiantly resisted or insolently contemned, has the ministerial office, considered as a rule, any power to punish? There is an act of punishment, which had been executed by Paul himself, cited in 1 Tim. i., 20: The Apostle had delivered Hymenæus and Alexander unto Satan; which seems to mean that he had expelled them from the Christian Church, since, as Calvin says, there is nothing outside the Church but the kingdom of Satan. There is, therefore, a reference in this passage to an act of formal excommunication. No instructions are, however, to be found in the epistles authorising, in case of need, recourse to this measure, as *parateisthai* (to reject) in Titus iii., 10, cannot refer to actual expulsion from the Church. It seems, indeed, to have been so much an act of supreme ecclesiastical authority (Paul speaks of it both in this passage and in 1 Cor. v., 5, as either done by himself personally or to be done by his authority) that, in treating of the ordinary pastoral office, it need not be more particularly discussed. It is, however, to be observed that the charge (Titus iii., 10), "a man that is an heretic—reject," gives to the

ordinary pastor a certain power of punishment. The purport of the exhortation is: have nothing more to do with him—break off all fellowship with him! But if the minister of the Church, as such, break off all communication with a man, it involves his exclusion from taking part in those transactions of the Church which bring the ministry into immediate and personal relation to individuals.

The other side of government relates to the Church as a whole, and includes the direction of its public and general affairs. The Church can no more subsist without such guidance than any other community. And in the congregation of the Lord this rests most naturally with the ministerial office. The duties pertaining thereto are, indeed, conditioned in details by the circumstances of the Church, and assume, therefore, the most diverse forms. The main matters which have to be attended to are, however, the same under all circumstances. For instance, there is care for the public worship of God. 1 Tim., ii., contains some hints in reference to this. According to v. 12 the women have to be forbidden to speak in the religious assemblies of the Church; the overseer of the church must therefore settle the order of worship in this respect, and see to its being observed. He has also to carry into effect the apostle's instructions concerning public intercession in the Church, especially for the magistracy, v. 1, 2. It is indicated in v. 8 that disorders had arisen, or were to be dreaded, in the congregation: to remove or prevent these is the duty of the overseer. It is, therefore, a duty of church-rule of the first importance to see that the instructions respecting public worship are carried out, more especially to prevent disorders in connection therewith and to maintain its dignity. There are further, in chap. v., some directions respecting the choice of widows, which Timothy, as the superior of the Church at that time, had to take in hand. If we may understand v. 9 to refer to the registering of those who received public support (to which v. 16 seems to point), then the arrangement of the system of poor-relief was therewith committed to the overseer of the church. Did it refer, however, to the choice of deaconesses (which the demand for specially excellent qualities made in v. 9, 10, and the expressions respecting young widows, v. 11, 15, make probable), then his right to appoint the lower officers of the church is recognised. The union of these two views has the most in its favour, viz., that he referred to the installation of a widow into the diaconal office with the view of procuring for her a right to support on the part of the Church; from which, therefore, the union of that double authority in the office of the minister of the Church also follows. The pastoral epistles offer no further details in this respect. These few hints indicate, however, that the direction of the general affairs of the Church, so far as they belong to the sphere of religion, pertains, in the view of the Apostle, to the ministerial office.

If spiritual rule, in respect to its nature and the means at its command, cannot be placed in a line with secular, neither can it in respect to the qualities which are to be manifested in its administration. There are, so to speak, *governing virtues* which the minister, as overseer of the Church, has to manifest. He must, for instance, maintain his authority with strength and dignity: the father of a family ought to rule his house "with all gravity" (1 Tim. iii. 4); how much more, then, the bishop of the Church! (v. 5). Compare with this the apostolic charge: "Let no man despise thy youth" (1 Tim. iv. 12), which is not merely an exhortation to the Church, but an admonition to Timothy himself to behave in such a way as to command due respect. What he has to do to secure this respect is, indeed, immediately mentioned—"But be thou an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity." In Titus, however, the same admonition, "Let no man despise thee," is quite absolute; and, indeed, from its connection with the preceding clause, "with all authority," it receives the sense that he must not suffer his orders to be disregarded, but rather insist with all earnestness on the maintenance of his authority. Such energy must not certainly degenerate into arrogance and rudeness, "not self-willed" (Titus i. 17), since this is incompatible with the dependence of the overseer upon the real Master (*despotes*) of the Church. If he wishes, further, to be a true *episkopos*, it especially befits him to keep a watchful eye upon everything transpiring in the Church, and, if possible, upon every individual, as Timothy is admonished, "but watch thou in all things" (2 Tim. iv. 5); and, withal—which is still further implied in these words—a sober, circumspect understanding of circumstances, free from all exaggeration and passion. It is especially necessary for him to judge the individuals with whom his office brings him into contact in a right way; to guard against arbitrariness and partiality. "That thou observe these things without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality" (1 Tim. v. 21). Whether the caution which immediately follows, "Lay hands suddenly on no man," refers to the ordination of presbyters and deacons, or to the reception again of the fallen, it inculcates the same thing, viz., that he had not to allow himself to be carried away by a preconceived good opinion of the person in question to a hasty laying on of hands, a more exact observation of each man being, according to v. 24, necessary, as the first impression frequently deceives.

Many other qualities of especial value for the administering of Church-rule might be named, but we are in danger of encroaching upon the following section, which sets forth the personal qualities of the minister of Christ. We content ourselves, therefore, with saying that the relationship of many of the virtues about to be

enumerated with the "ruling virtues" here touched upon will be seen at once.

We have, in the first part of this paper, taken for our theme: "If any man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work" (1 Tim. iii. 1). We have seen that, while there is something noble and important about the ministerial office, it is anything but a position of ease, but rather a work which involves a course of most difficult duties, the right performance of which lays special demands upon those engaged in it. The Apostle felt it necessary, therefore, to show what was required of a man in order to do justice to these demands: "A bishop, then, must be," &c. (v. 2, &c). Before entering, however, upon the list of qualities here named, let us glance at 1 Tim. v. 17: "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour," since the apostle makes here a distinction between simply *sufficing* and specially *excellent* administration of office. The first, even, is deserving of honour, the other in a two-fold degree (double honour). For the contrast cannot be between "the elders that rule well" and those who administer their office altogether badly, as these are not even worthy of simple honour, but such as do not specially distinguish themselves. We have, then, to enquire, first, what are the personal qualities which are indispensably necessary to ministerial work; and, secondly, what those are which enable him to promote it in a special degree.

The first class are contained in the detailed catalogue of the personal qualities of a bishop in 1 Tim. iii. 2, 7, and Titus i. 6, 9, which are marked as absolutely necessary by the imperative must (*dei*). A glance at his list will enable us to distinguish a number of *more general* qualities from some which stand in a *more special* relation to the professional work of a minister.

He who examines this list with the expectation of finding therein lofty Christian virtues will find himself deceived; it presents to us a portrait, in producing which a Socrates or Plato might have almost entirely guided the pencil. Vices are prohibited of which every rightminded man would be ashamed, and virtues demanded which do not surpass what becomes the most ordinary Christian. There is nothing said of high spiritual life, of special power of faith, or anything of that sort. Herein, however, the wisdom of the Apostle is to be admired. We must not forget that the superscription of the picture runs thus: "A bishop, then, must be," &c., denoting what is indispensably necessary for all times. His own experience had, however, already taught him that the fulness of spiritual life which pulsates at the beginning in youthful communities does not often last long; perhaps, also, the Spirit of God had presented to him coming times, in which—had he set up an ideal which only few could reach—not many would be found suit-

able for the bishop's office. He had, therefore, to reduce the standard of his demands to what always, even in the most depressed condition of the Church, must be required. But he has here drawn a line, beneath which the character of a minister cannot go without the utmost danger to the office itself.

The first and most indispensable requisite for one who would be a "Steward of God" (Titus i. 7) is a *good, unspotted reputation.* "A bishop, then, must be blameless," (1 Tim. iii. 2; Titus i. 7). Without a good name he cannot command respect; but if this be wanting in the "Steward of God," his position is altogether untenable. How can he reckon upon acknowledgment as *episkopos*, as guardian of the Church, who has the reputation of not even keeping a watchful eye upon himself? The good name of a bishop must, moreover, be so far above suspicion that he will not only be respected in the Church—in Christian love easily excusing his failings—but also by those that are without, (1 Tim. iii. 7). And as every reproof cast upon a teacher of Christianity likewise affects the cause of Christ itself, Titus is admonished (ii. 8) by blameless, yea, exemplary conduct, to deprive the adversaries of the faith of every occasion for slander. How fatal the loss of his good name may be, not merely to the cause he represents, but to the minister himself and his personal work, is indicated by that somewhat unusual expression: "lest he fall into the reproach and snare of the devil, (1 Tim. iii. 7). Luther and others find in the "reproach" (*oneidismos*) a power tempting to apostacy from the Gospel, and it is indeed possible to conceive here of a *verbrecher aus verlorner Ehne* (a criminal through lost honour), whom pain at the contempt into which he has fallen drives to the despairing resolve, since his moral reputation is gone, to renounce his—perhaps but newly awakened—moral life. But it is questionable whether this expression is to be taken so strongly. The reference of it to the administering of his office is, perhaps, to be preferred, in connection with which the *pagis diabolon* (snare of the devil) would denote the Satanic influence which embarrasses and hinders him in the discharge of his duty. For instance, if a minister finds that he has lost his good name, he loses the necessary boldness (*parresia v.* 13) in his work, and is confused and embarrassed in the presence of the Church, daring no longer to oppose sin with such decision as he was able to do it with when his reputation was unstained. He thus feels himself fettered as by a "snare of the devil," and paralysed in his work; and is it not worth the devil's while to try to bind in this way the arm which chiefly wields the sword of the Spirit against prevailing vices? But whether this exegesis be correct or not, blamelessness of reputation is the *conditio sine qua non*, both for the tenableness of the position and the effective working of a Christian bishop.

On this account it takes the first place in the list of episcopal virtues in both Timothy and Titus.

His good name must not, however, rest upon mere appearance, or be just artificially kept up before the eyes of the world; there must be corresponding to it real moral *purity* and moral *fitness*.

The first is denoted by a series of expressions, mostly negative, which point collectively to abstinence from coarse passions, 1 Tim. iii. 3; Titus i. 7. Arrogance, violence, and anger, drunkenness, avarice, and covetousness are forbidden, the incompatibility of these vices with the ministerial office being self-evident. There is to be added another requirement, which, though not in negative form, is connected in sense with these just mentioned; a bishop must be "the husband of one wife," 1 Tim. iii. 2; Titus i. 6. It is not likely that any will find now in this passage a polemic against agamy, as Bengel and others did; its application to polygamy (Chrysostom, Calvin, and others) falls to the ground on comparing it with 1 Tim. v. 9, "the wife of one man," since polyandry never occurred at that time. But its reference to denterogamy, by the most of modern expositors, is supported by the fact that Christian antiquity was by no means favourable to second marriages. It may be remarked, however, as an essential moment against this view, that abstention from a second marriage was always viewed in the post-apostolic times from the stand-point of special perfection; but in this place there is nothing at all said of perfection in the Christian sense, but of general moral requirements and of what relates to the gaining and keeping of a good name. We find, therefore, in this passage simply an admonition against unchastity on the part of a bishop, in which sense it connects itself naturally with the warning against other vices.

Following this demand for moral purity is the demand, expressed in a number of positive injunctions, for moral *qualifications* suitable to the work. In a general way the qualities demanded in Titus i. 8, "just, holy, temperate," seem to have respectively reference to the conduct which the pastor has to observe towards his fellow-creatures, towards God, and towards himself. As to particular qualities, there must be placed first among the positive requirements that he be "vigilant" and "sober" (1 Tim. iii. 2), watchful, prudent, and free from passion; with the sobriety of his inner nature his outward walk must harmonise, so that there may be nothing indecent and unbecoming in his entire behaviour and conduct, "of good behaviour" (*kosmios*, 1 Tim. iii. 2.). He must, moreover, be "given to hospitality" and "a lover of hospitality" (1 Tim. iii. 2; Titus i. 8), since, apart from the then oppressed condition of the Christian brethren which made the manifestion of this virtue specially desirable, it entered so much into the heathen idea of what was required of a just man, that the want of it in a

bishop would have brought into discredit the cause of Christianity. The importance of a well-regulated *domestic life* is further emphasised in 1 Tim. iii. 4; because the way in which a candidate for the episcopal office conducted the government of his house showed how far he was fit to undertake the ruling of the Church. Besides, the want of discipline in his own household during his administration of the office would shake the confidence of the Church in his energy, tact, and fidelity. Herewith, however, the moral condition of his children, from whom obedience and honour are to be expected, are alone spoken of; there is no mention of the wives of bishops. In 2 Tim. iii. 11 the wives of deacons are, indeed, distinctly mentioned, and apparently for this reason; the office of a deacon was of such a character that they had to be associated with their husbands in many of their duties, and had thus a sort of semi-official position in the Church. We must, however, give up the idea of finding in these epistles the model of a pastor's wife, which is such a favourite subject in Pastoral Theology.

There is another requirement annexed in the epistle to Timothy to those already mentioned; the bishop must not be a "novice," (*neophutos* v. 6). We must not, however, understand by this term mere *youthfulness*, as Timothy himself was young in years; but a beginner in the Christian religion, one who had not been long converted. To elevate a new convert to such a high honour was to expose him to the danger of "being lifted up with pride." The general idea conveyed is that the want of Christian *ripeness* is incompatible with the difficult post of a bishop.

Conceive we then of one who occupies the ministerial office combining in himself these qualities, and we may have confidence that it is in worthy hands. But something more than moral fitness is needed, capacity is still required. In respect to some parts of his work—for instance, church-rule and the care of souls—this would not be denied to one who was able to keep his own house in exemplary order. But special demands are made upon a minister in respect to one of the most important functions of his office, that of teaching. The bishop has to be "apt to teach," and must hold fast the true apostolic doctrine. 1 Tim. iii. 2; 2 Tim. ii. 24; Titus i. 9.

The latter demand applies somewhat more generally than the first, since soundness in the faith is required of every member of the Church. But it is not without reason that it is specially made upon the teacher, as his heterodoxy, even in less important matters, may occasion confusion to the whole Church. While it is therefore sufficient if the members of the Church hold generally "the faithful word," the teacher of the Church must hold it fast, even "as he hath been taught," that is, in exact agreement with apostolic teaching, "that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort

and to convince the gainsayer." But if the ability to convince gainsayers is to be gained by maintaining sound doctrine, then the word *didache* (he hath been taught) must be understood in a deeper sense, as denoting some *special instruction* which the teacher of the Church had received from the apostle and his helpers. Thus Timothy had to commit to faithful men, able to teach others, what he had heard of Paul, which can only refer to some *special tuition*, different from the general instruction given to the Church, in which the doctrines of the faith were communicated in a more thorough manner, and with special reference to possible assaults upon them. To meet, then, the demands of his office, even in its polemical part, there is needed of the Christian teacher a deeper and more thorough theological training than is required of the ordinary member of the Church. The first demand made upon a bishop, that he be "apt to teach," indicates, indeed, the need of this. For this capacity for teaching necessarily comprehends two things: first, *a thorough knowledge of the subjects to be taught*, and secondly, *ability to communicate them in a right manner*. While we cannot speak, in referring to that time, of real "scientific training," we must not, on the other hand, underestimate the demands made then in this respect upon the leaders of the Church. If a teacher had, for instance, to meet with success the gnostic heresy, which dealt with doctrinal truths in a speculative and dialectical way, he would have to be acquainted not only with its affirmations, but would have to understand how to preserve particular Christian truths from being adulterated or explained away by more exactly formulating them, and how to set them forth in their relations to the entire system of faith. To maintain and defend the Christian faith is, then, essentially the work of the teacher of the Church; and, though its claims upon him were in those early times somewhat modest, we may at any rate conclude, with reference to later times, that he must be acquainted with the position of the theological science of his age, both as it relates to the contents of the Christian system and its defence against the various forms of opposition with which it may be assailed. The other quality necessary to effective teaching, that of clear, convincing representation, may be acquired to some extent by practice, but still, without special personal endowments it can never be possessed in an extraordinary degree. Such endowments are of immense value to the teacher of the Church, and as there was at that time no formal study of ministerial oratory, the apostle had this personal fitness mainly in view when speaking of the choice of such men as might be able to teach others.

The high value which the personal life of faith and love—the penetration of his own character with Christian truth—has for the fulfilment of the office of a minister appears from a series of

hints which Timothy and Titus received in relation to personal character. These throw important light upon what the minister must be personally in order *to fulfil his office in a specially excellent manner*. If the portrait of what "a bishop must be" suffices to denote what are the indispensable qualifications for this office, this new aspect of the question leads us, on the contrary, to the special directions given to Timothy and Titus for their own personal character. And here we have to look at the portrait of the great apostle himself. There is something grand in a man being able to point others, as Paul did, to his example, as well as his word, and to speak like him of his own faith, and patience, and love. This is, however, only becoming in a preacher from whose personal life devotion to the cause of the Lord shines forth with such evidence as it did in Paul. Timothy and Titus could certainly not do this. They could, however, by the quiet sermon of their lives, make the sermon from the divine word more clear and impressive. "Be thou an example of the believers" (1 Tim. iv. 12), and "In all things shewing thyself a pattern of good works" (Tit. ii. 7). The preacher must, then, be an example to the Church. It is not enough to teach by words; it must be done also by deeds. The word *parechomenos*, "shewing thyself," is noteworthy, indicating that he has not only to engage himself in a general way with "good works," but must let his light shine with special clearness, so that the whole Church may see it. This is still more definitely expressed in the charge to Timothy, "Meditate upon these things" (that is, all those things recommended in v. 12-14, among which is especially named the example of his life, v. 12), "that thy profiting may appear unto all." True, no extraordinary virtues are demanded of the minister, since he has to "follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call on the Lord out of a pure heart"—that is, in union with other Christians. But just because they are binding upon the whole Church they must not be wanting in its teacher. It is, indeed, his duty to keep himself with the utmost purity (1 Tim. v. 22), nay, the idea of his being a pattern carries with it the obligation that, in regard to those "good works" which men observe, such as beneficence and hospitality, he must be specially careful, and, on some occasions, do more than can be demanded under otherwise similar circumstances of an ordinary member of the Church.

It is evident, also, that the work of a minister is promoted by his personal Christianity, not merely in as far as his example gives necessary impressiveness to his teachings and exhortations. Rather it is the fundamental doctrine of the pastoral epistles that the entire character of his work will be conditioned by his own personal relation to the Christian faith, and that only the true Christian can be a "good minister of Jesus Christ." The entire

way in which Paul is presented to us therein proves that only that preacher knows how to proclaim the Christian truths powerfully and impressively who, like Paul, has them living within him. Compare especially 1 Tim. i. 12-17, a personal testimony of the apostle's, which may be considered as a Biblical text to the saying of Zinzendorf: "Would you be trumpets of grace, yield yourselves up to grace." Moreover, the manifold counsels which he gives to his helpers respecting the growth of their spiritual life have not merely a general practical aim, but their position beside and between the rules given for the exercise of their official gifts indicate that they have especially in view the fitting of them for a more thorough discharge of the duties of their office. For instance, Timothy is exhorted to be strong in the grace which dwells in Christ. For what purpose, however, does he specially need this strength? The description of the duties awaiting him, v. 2-6, informs us. To perform these honestly he needs strength; this power he can only receive when the grace of Christ is the living element in which he moves; of this alone is the necessary power born. Thus the apostle boasts in Tim. i. 12 that the Lord to whom he had given himself in faith and love (v. 14) had endowed him with this power. It is personal fellowship with Christ which gives a minister special efficiency in his work, and which fits him for undertaking and bearing what is difficult and unpleasant in connection with his office (2 Tim. ii. 3). It is noteworthy how much stress the apostle lays upon the existence within his helpers of the specially Christian life. Striving after knowledge and those things which fit for the effective discharge of office is regarded by him as a matter of course; but he puts very strongly into the first rank that which is withdrawn from the outward perception and judgment of the Church—the personal life of faith. Timothy is, indeed, recommended to a thorough and persevering study of Christian truth—"nourished up in the words of faith" (1 Tim. iv. 6). The divine word had to be his daily food, implying that he had to be continually engaged in its study. But it is evident that this nourishment had not to be taken up by the understanding merely, but by the heart also, the centre of the spiritual life.

In order, then, to discharge the duties of his calling thoroughly, he must, above all, be personally under the power and influence of the truth—he must live the life of faith. That minister (*Geistliche*) only deserves, therefore, in truth his name, the impelling principle of whose life is the Spirit (*Geist*) of God; and the duties of this spiritual office can only be performed in a proper manner "by the Holy Ghost" (2 Tim. i. 14).

ART. X.—THOUGHT-GERMS.

EVERY Haman of the soul has a Mordecai sitting at the soul's gate.

CHRISTIANITY will never become a dead letter until there are no longer any living wants in us and all men which it alone can meet and satisfy.

FOR want of light we do not feel the darkness.

WE may believe more than we can comprehend, but not more than we can prove. And though we cannot always give a reason for what we believe, yet we should be ever able to give a reason why we believe it.

A RELIGION which meets the demands of the heart and reason must be divine, whether inspired from within or revealed from without.

FAITH makes the man as well as the Christian. Without faith it is impossible to please either God or oneself.

A PRINCIPLE must possess you, and inspire your whole being, ere you can effectually impart it to others. In this consideration is seen the reason why unlearned men are sometimes more successful preachers of the gospel than learned ones. Head may light the head, but it is heart that fires the heart and puts the active powers in motion.

"NOTIONS about God more or less occupied them, but God Himself was not in all their thoughts." Said of merely speculative heathens, and predicable of merely speculative Christians.

EMOTION is the highest state of the soul, and all the other mental qualities are valuable only as factors of this. "A Christian cannot live on his feelings;" but it is equally true that he cannot live without them. Christianity, as a state of mind, *is* principally feeling, or a lively consciousness of acceptance with God and rightness towards man. In a word, personal religion is personal emotion, or pleasurable condition of soul arising from a conscience void of offence, "a higher hope," and communion with God. What does the "Rejoice evermore" of St. Paul mean but immanency of emotion less or more peaceful and joyous? The man who calls himself a Christian, and is nevertheless living without "feelings," has not as yet so much as begun to live that higher life which it is the prerogative of Christianity in the soul to develop and sustain.

MAN is *absolutely* free within certain limits. He can choose between motives. Hence his accountability. But it is said that he must be always determined by the *strongest* motive. The answer is, he ought always to be determined by the *right* motive, and might, if he would, in spite of any number and vigour of motives of an opposite character. It is not the motive which

determines, but the *man*. But we cannot act without motives. True; and neither can we see without light, yet it is *we* who see, not the light. We are *conscious* of being free agents, and therefore *must* be such, unless our nature deceives us. Is it said that we can only be conscious of freedom to choose between motives. Well, and is not this quite sufficient? What more would we have?

GOD hardened Pharoah's heart. Yes, by facts of His providence, not by acts of His will.

WHEREVER faith in God as a living, personal Being grows weak, everything else grows weak with it.

> "Unless above himself he could erect
> Himself, how mean a thing were man."

But how could he rise above himself if there *were* nothing above him? Can you feed men with phrases about the beautiful or the godlike when they want the source of beauty, the living God? Fine notions or theories may please the mind, but they cannot satisfy the *man*. "Have faith in God." To have everything *but* that would be no substitute *for* that. I have the natural laws, but I want the law *Giver*. I am personal, and cannot, therefore, be satisfied with the *im*personal. It is only love that can beget love. It is only living God that can respond to the questionings and aspirations of living man. "Atoms" may do for the body to live on, but not for the soul. "Ten thousand worlds, and twice ten thousand more," could no more fill the capacity of a human soul than they could be estimated as equivalent to its worth. The "image" of God seeks unto God, and can find adequate repose in no less a Fatherhood.

THE law of nature's laws is the will of nature's Ordainer. If I make friends with the Lawgiver, I have nothing to fear from the laws. Being myself more than mechanism, I seek unto more. The laws *of* God are stepping-stones *to* God, not substitutes *for* God.

THAT which is greatest is best able to stoop. It may be bent, but not broken. The lock of hair on the head of Sampson, shorn and blinded, will grow again.

WE seek to be delivered from belief in the divine authority of religion when we are in an evil mind; such belief is our only consolation and hope when we rise into a higher one.

IF truth does not hold us, it will not do us much good to hold truth.

EVIL does not belong to the order of the universe, but is its disorder; and every creature seeking to dwell in selfish independence embraces that disorder, and becomes a part of it. The devil is not a king by divine right, but a rebel by undivine wrong. "We are not old enough yet to thank God for the devil" (!) nor, I should think, ever shall be. We may thank God for relative

evil, but not for the principle of evil. From the former good is educible; but the latter is only evil, and that continually.

IF we had Fortunatus's wishing cap, we should soon wish not to have it. Experience tells us that Providence is the best disposer. If His ways are not ours, they are better than ours. That such is the case we by-and-bye find out, even in this world.

IF the doctrine of "evolution" were admissible," still the query would arise, "Who created such law, and endowed it with its more than miraculous possibilities? Evolutionism is not Atheism.

TO form a just estimate of our own judgments we should be able to distinguish between what our mind has received and what our mind has imparted.

CRITICISM may be a giant, but it is too often a Polyphemus—one-eyed. If my "doxy" is not your doxy, you are down upon me, and all my really good things go for nothing, or worse.

IF the heart is right with God, the man is right with the universe.

TO aim at effect is too often to sacrifice truth to point, and to mistake glitter for profundity. Phrases of the *bons-mots* kind, like persons, have seldom the virtues they affect. Like virtue, truth is, "when unadorned, adorned the most."

WE are easily convinced of what we are willing to believe true; and we are sure to be convinced of what we *wish* to be true.

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Wines of the Bible. An examination and refutation of the Unfermented Wine Theory. By the Rev. A. M. WILSON. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

THIS moderately-sized crown octavo volume, extending over 380 pages, is devoted to the consideration of a question that, in our judgment, is in itself of little importance. It does not follow from this, however, that the volume is of small importance and its contents of little value. Looking upon the subject in itself, which is examined in this volume, as of no really practical worth, we, nevertheless, regard the examination and refutation as searching, scholarly, conclusive, and possessed of very great utility. Minor and unessential matters may be pushed into such prominence in a controversy and paraded with so much show; they may be so misplaced and misrepresented, that it becomes a necessity to bestow upon them an exhaustive treatment, an amount of attention and learning which their intrinsic merit in

no wise demands. Such, in our judgment, is the case with the subject of this volume. Mr. Wilson's labour is of value, not because of the intrinsic importance of the subject to which it relates, but because of the fictitious value that has been attached to it. That the Bible condemns drunkenness —an excessive indulgence in fermented liquor—is admitted on all hands. There is not a single instance in the Scriptures in which drunkenness is commended, or in which this form of excess is represented as a venial and allowable indulgence. So far there is no disagreement among reasonable and fair-minded men. But there are passages in which the use of wines is not branded with condemnation, but referred to without having reprobation writ large across it. By many persons these references, if they are accepted in relation to the use and abuse of substantially the same kind of wines —that is fermented—are regarded as containing so much approval of wine drinking, and so much disapproval of abstinence from it; and the Bible becomes an authority against total and absolute abstinence. In this way points of detail, which vary with time and circumstances, are pushed into the place of general principles, and acquire a prominence to which they are in no sense entitled. Does the Bible condemn drunkenness? We say, Yes. Does the Bible command sobriety? Again we say, Yes. But how can the one be prevented and the other practised in human life? By self-government and self-control, manifesting itself in the avoidance of the one, and habitual exercise in the other. But what form ought this self-government to take? That is a matter of detail to be determined by the social conditions of an age and country in conjunction with the conditions of individual life. To attempt to drag out of the Bible a particular form and scheme for the application of a general principle of action throughout all time and under all circumstances is a narrow, technical, pettifogging method which necessitates a violence of interpretation that ought to make men hesitate. The Bible condemns drunkenness, but it does not condemn every instance of wine-drinking that happens to be mentioned in its pages, and every reference to wine is not a reference of reprobation—and what then? Does it follow that the Bible approves of drunkenness, or tolerates insobriety, or is inconsistent in its teaching? Some men seem to think so, but such is not our opinion; and hence the effort that is made to show that the wines, the use of which is not condemned, are different in kind from those the reference to which is accompanied with reprobation. A point of really small moment is elevated to the front rank of controversy, and the character of the Bible is almost made to depend upon whether the wines it does not condemn were fermented or unfermented. If they were fermented it does not follow that the Bible favours drunkenness. Abraham, for instance, had more wives than one, and so had others named in Bible history, and we are not aware that this domestic arrangement of his was condemned; but does it follow that the Bible favours polygamy and inculcates it as a family institution? This same patriarch had also slaves born in his house, and some even in the New Testament Churches were owners of slaves, and we are not aware they were condemned for it; but does it follow that the Bible smiles upon slavery and countenances it? We should be loth to think so. And although wine-drinking, in all its

degrees and forms, is not in the Scriptures marked with a broad black brand, we are slow to infer that, in order to save Bible consistency, it must be made out at all hazards that the wine the use of which is not reprobated is in every instance an unfermented wine.

Mr. Wilson, we may say, is not a wine-drinker. He is an abstainer of more than thirty years standing, and, as a matter of course, his sympathies in relation to the question of "the nature of ancient wines in general, and the wines of the Bible in particular," which, owing to "recent discussion on the Wine of the Communion," has been forced into special prominence, were on the side of the "Unfermented Theory." But in investigating the question he candidly states that the facts he encountered "have constrained him, reluctantly, to conclude that, so far as the wines of the ancients are concerned, unfermented wine is a myth." It is not an anti-abstainer who publishes this conclusion and the grounds upon which it is based, but a gentleman who appreciates abstinence, and enforces it by habitual practice. The volume Mr. Wilson publishes is candid and outspoken, and so far as we are able to judge, impartial, exhaustive, and convincing. The first general section examines the wine-drinking of the ancients, and seeks to ascertain from laws, customs, and practices what the character of their various beverages was. An immense mass of evidence is adduced relative to ancient nations in Europe, Asia, and Africa, showing that so far as the records we have of the common life of these old people is concerned there is no trace of unfermented wines. The second general section is devoted to an inquiry into the import of certain tropical and proleptical phrases applied to wines—as fruit of the vine—blood of the grape, &c. Then follows a section on the ancient wines of Greece and Rome, with special reference to the question of fermentation. Some maintain the grape juice cannot be preserved unfermented, others maintain it can, and there is some reason to think that modern chemistry is equal to the task; but were the ancients capable of doing it? This is the question to be decided. It is not what a nineteenth century chemist can do, but what the vine-growers of between two and three thousand years ago could do. This section is full of information, and forms an important contribution to the examination and refutation. Then come sections on ancient wines allowed to women, ancient wines old and new, and the wines in use in ancient Egypt. A lengthy section is devoted to the character of Hebrew wines, the Yayni, Khemer and Khamar, Khomety, Mesech, Ahsis, Soveh, Shechar, Shemahrim, and Lirosh. The investigation is conducted here with great critical fairness and fearlessness. The last section is devoted to the consideration of the wine of the Passover, and the wine of the Supper.

To those who are anxious to know something reliable and trustworthy respecting the wines of the Bible, we commend this volume. But we promise them that they will have a stiff task in reading and mastering its contents. It is brimful of information, replete with careful critical estimate, the result of a German-like industry and research. We do not wonder that Mr. Wilson's sympathies have yielded to conviction, and that he now writes "the unfermented theory a myth."

We can only hope that his work may contribute to expose a theory which, having no foundation in fact or usage, has done more harm than enough to the temperance reformation. If another edition is published we would suggest that the style should be popularised a little, and the immense array of heavy criticism relieved and lightened a little more.

Memorial Volume. Sermons by the late Mr. WILLIAM NIVISON, Probationer of the United Presbyterian Church, with a *Biographical Sketch*. By the Rev. WILLIAM WATSON, Kirkcudbright. Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Co., 1877.

THIS little memorial volume of a young minister, who died without even being settled to a charge, is, to us, an exceedingly interesting one. In the first place, the excellent and touching Biographical Sketch by Mr. Watson opens up to us a phase of ministerial life with which Methodism is quite unfamiliar, notwithstanding the general resemblance of our church polity to Presbyterianism. The sketch enables us to realise with vivid distinctness the peculiar position of a probationer of the Church—the variety of scene, the mingled hope and disappointment, the painful anxiety and suspense, which must inevitably attend this stage of his career. But the book is more interesting still from the insight it gives us into the inner life of one who was possessed of a remarkably fine, though over sensitive nature, together with a deeply earnest and high-toned Christian character. The character of Mr. Nivison, in its inwardness, depth, reflectiveness, and conscientiousness, under an exterior of modesty and reserve, is, to us, typical of a form of Scottish religious life with which we strongly sympathise. No one can read these memorials of a life full of rich promise of service to the Church without interest and instruction, nor without a sense of sadness at its premature close. The sermons, though of varying merit, reveal not only high mental power, but remarkable earnestness and spiritual depth. They are full of Gospel truth, presented in clear, simple, direct, ungarnished language, in harmony with the character of the man. They cannot be read without both mental stimulus and spiritual profit.

The Symbolic Parables of the Church, the World, and the Antichrist, being the Separate Predictions of the Apocalypse, viewed in their relation to the General Truths of Scripture. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 38, George-street, 1877.

UNLIKE many works on the Apocalypse, this book is sufficiently plain and intelligible. No reader of average mind, paying due attention, can fail to catch its meaning and understand its drift. And, what is better still, the substance of the book is good and profitable. Apart from the theory of interpretation adopted by the author, there is little in the substance of his teaching with which we fail to agree. Nearly all that he says on the ways of God to men in providence and grace is sound and trustworthy, agreeing with the general scope of Scripture and with our moral reason, and calculated to build up the soul in truth and righteousness. As to the correctness of his theory for the interpretation of Apocalyptic symbolism we are in doubt. This theory will be stated

best in his own words. "Believing that Scripture is self-interpreting, and that the last book of Holy Writ presupposes all the books that are before it, and all the teaching contained in other parts of the Word, we have sought our key to its contents in these, and not in the details of secular history; while we believe, and have endeavoured to show, that its symbolic parables include all history, as Christ's parables of His kingdom include the whole course of His kingdom." By means of this theory the author threads his way through the symbolic mazes of the Apocalypse, and, if we may receive his own testimony, throws such a flood of light upon them that henceforth a child may thread their intricacies with confidence. Now, with the substance of his teaching, as before stated, we in general agree; it is substantially the same as is taught by Evangelical ministers; but we fail to see the grounds of its connection with the text on which it is super-imposed. What authority is there, we should like to know, for believing that "this last book of Holy Writ presupposes all the books that are before it, and all the teaching contained in other parts of the Word?" It strikes us that the belief itself and the application of it to the interpretation of the Apocalypse are purely arbitrary. This theory of interpretation, honestly but arbitrarily adopted and applied, serves as an instrument for finding in the Apocalypse an expression and authentication of the author's own theology, and in this respect it is like nearly every other book that has been written on this mysterious portion of sacred Scripture. We cannot receive the author's theory, but we gladly bear testimony to the general soundness of his theological views, to his fairness and moderation in propounding them, and to the fine spiritual tone which pervades the whole of his book.

THE

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR.

ART. I.—MRS. HANNAH PEARCE REEVES, PREACHER OF THE GOSPEL.

MRS. HANNAH PEARCE REEVES, a preacher of the Methodist Protestant Church in Ohio and adjacent States, was born with the century, of the yeomanry class in Devonshire, England. By birthright she received the goodly qualities that have belonged to her people through a thousand years—thrift, independence, courage, whatever makes the substratum and substance of the Saxon country folk, whether they be freeholders, franklins, or yeomen; for the same men and women gathered into corporate communities by Alfred, and portrayed by Chaucer, appear again in their ancient hamlets in their descendants of the present, modified, it is true, by the conditions of modern life, yet substantially unchanged.

In her early years she was taught the offices of the household and dairy, acquired a knowledge of horses, as her chief accomplishment, and such other practical lore as fits a rural English lass for the occupations of her mature years. Her father, led astray by the seductions of his class—the chase and the tavern—was accustomed to consult her in matters of business when she was scarcely in her teens; and from the beginning she gave evidence of a strong nature that, once brought under the power of religion, would exert an extraordinary and beneficent influence. But the region wherein she was reared lay in the dearth and death of unreligion. The Dissenters had not penetrated it, and the parsons of the Establishment were commonly of that incongruous sort so common in the last century, and withal not yet extinct—men of much the same pattern as the "lower orders," so to speak, of the Establishment of Rome; albeit in those, as contrasted with these, the grossness of the pattern is somewhat toned—men given to cards and wine, fox-hunters, horse-racers, profligates. A lull had followed upon the great revival that produced Methodism. In many places the light of the Churches had declined, though it was still guarded and fed by humble hands. Among these devout

souls was one William O'Bryan, founder of a small sect known as Bible Christians, an offshoot from the Wesleyan stock, that gave prominence to the idea held at first, but later abandoned by the parent sect, of women-workers in the Church. This good man directed one of his journeys or itinerations toward Devonshire, to whose benighted people he preached the Gospel with earnestness and effect. A society was organised in Sheepwash, the hamlet wherein Hannah dwelt; and somewhat later, through the instrumentality of the Rev. James Thorne, a man of gifts and devotion, she was brought under conviction; for she was bred and ever remained among that social class who, unrestrained by timidity and unrepressed by culture in their religious exercises, experience the successive grades of spiritual experience with marked distinctiveness; who wrestle in prayer and faith for "the blessing," are subject to spiritual manifestations, and shout for spiritual joy.

Her conversion, occurring in her eighteenth year, was decisive, in accordance with her character. After suffering protractedly from the consciousness of sin, she fell upon her knees and resolved never more to rise till she was relieved of this burden, choosing to wait thus like a heavy-laden but watchful sentinel, or to die in the struggle rather than give it over. Of necessity such a resolution was a conquering one, for it is this violence that the kingdom of heaven suffereth, and the violent take it by force. She rose with the consciousness of reconciliation with the Father of spirits, and the next day, in obedience to the injunction, "And when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren," went among her neighbours pleading with and constraining them by the love of Christ to follow Him in the regeneration. After the practice of the devout of her day she wrote certain rules for holy living, and through fifty subsequent years she was directed by the spirit, if not always by the letter, of her resolution, exemplifying the sweetness and the power of the Gospel in a life of extraordinary endurance and exertion.

Simultaneous with her change of heart was her call to preach, a summons that she heard with indubitable clearness. Although her opportunities for learning had been meagre, her native sense and propriety stood her in such good stead that it is recorded, "She was never known to violate the laws of grammar, logic, good taste, or scriptural theology." She stood with moderate, dignified bearing in the pulpit, serene in countenance, self-possessed in manner. Her gestures were firm, but unconstrained and appropriate; her voice mellow, soft, and clear; her diction fluent; her utterance perfectly distinct. Her preaching was without ornament or display, save the ornament of a meek spirit, imparting the most beautiful, sometimes the most pathetic, truth. She had plainly no other aim in the pulpit than to rescue sinners and to confirm the faith of the devout. "In all her ministrations it was felt that the mighty God

was with her;" and yet she was but a rustic maid, an English Jeanne d'Arc, called to spiritual fields of battle, defending the souls that followed her against principalities and powers and the rulers of the darkness of this world. Youthful championess as she was, she went bravely out to meet the great destroyer on his own field—him who through thousands of years has passed raging to and fro on the earth amid the windrows of his slain. Many a time, as if descending from the height of her heavenly theme, was her foot set upon the crest of this arch enemy; many a soul did she bear away from his strong grasp.

Like Paul, the tent-maker, she worked at a craft, making gloves for her daily bread; and later, when this employment proved unprofitable, she served as domestic in the family of a squire, a step that proved of much advantage to the development of her talents, for her new employers, perceiving these, furnished her with opportunities for social and mental improvement that must have been extremely grateful to their *protege.* She repaid this kindness by leading the head of the family into membership with the household of God. He subsequently became an evangelical preacher. Meanwhile the burden of her own responsibility, as one sent with Christ's message to men, oppressed her soul. And here occurs a thoroughly Methodistic incident in her career; Methodistic, Puritanic, or Catholic, as you will; for in all epochs of strong religious feeling such confessings between God and his creatures bearing upon special concerns have been common; and among some of our own people they still obtain, though not now with the unqualified approval of the denomination at large. She consulted a certain "Uncle" Allen, a man strong in faith and prayer, who talked with God as a man speaketh with his human friend. He inquired of the Lord concerning Hannah, and received answer that his will was for her to go abroad and preach. "On what circuit, Lord?" asked this devout spiritualist. "On Shebbear circuit." "What, that great circuit, Lord? What wilt thou do with little Brother Samuel Swale?" "Take him home," was the reply. "Take little Brother Swale home, Lord? Well, thy will be done," answered the pleader, not clearly comprehending the message he had obtained. Within a short time the young preacher mentioned died unexpectedly, and Hannah was appointed to Shebbear circuit.

Thus, at the early age of nineteen, leaving family, friends, the comforts of a home, the more desirable as her health was not robust, Miss Pearce set forth upon the work of her life. It was to be made up of arduous journeys and innumerable religious services; of path-breaking in the virgin forests of the New World, of fording perilous streams, of winning men to Christ in cabin and meeting-house, of pleading with the lowest, and of preaching before members

of Conference, many of whom were distinguished for their gifts and spirituality. Hunger, thirst, cold, were often her only attendants. Sometimes she would turn aside to gather berries in the field, these furnishing her only repast; sometimes both horse and rider would travel the whole day without food. On one of her rounds she was used, at stated intervals, to walk thirty miles and conduct three religious services in one day. When asked concerning her record, she gave it modestly, protesting that she did not wish her name "paraded in history;" but it is a notable name in the annals of her denomination, and occupies assuredly one of its most remarkable pages.

Many instances of special providences, such as the early itinerants took a religious pleasure in recounting, occurred in her eventful life. One evening when she paused on her circuit, wearied in body and mind, she prayed the Lord to prevent a dancing-party that was to assemble in an adjacent house, fearing that the noise would deprive her of sleep, and so unfit her for the morrow's duty. A string of the violin—the only instrument of its kind in this rustic orchestra—broke in the opening of a dance, and the company dispersed. Miss Pearce gave thanks, and went on her way refreshed and rejoicing. Again, she narrowly escaped drowning while crossing a flood after the ferryman had vainly expostulated against her making the attempt. But in the service of self-renouncing love to which she was consecrated she counted not her life dear. So numerous were her escapes from perils of land and sea, of fire and flood and disease that she seemed to bear a charmed life, or, rather, to be invested with a spiritual panoply impervious to assaults of the elements or of circumstances. In an emergency, for want of money, it became necessary to sell her horse. A man offered her half its value, but this she declined, and prayed earnestly that God would send a purchaser. The next morning, when on her way to an appointment, a stranger accosted her, and asked whether she would sell the horse. A bargain was thereupon concluded, and the money paid on the spot. Such reliefs in emergencies she accepted as beneficent acts of the divine love in answer to her appeal.

In her character the distinctly masculine and feminine virtues balanced one another. Gentle, gracious, benignant, she was also, as we have seen, forcible of intellect, indomitable of will. The superintendent of a circuit in England, hearing of the threats of certain desperadoes, hesitated to keep an appointment he had made. Miss Pearce, still in her maiden years, said, "Friend, let me fight that battle for you. I am not afraid." Accordingly the girl went to meet the man's enemies. The ruffians, fantastically disguised and boisterous, entered the place of assembly, much to the alarm of the few gathered there. But Miss Pearce intimidated the band in the outburst by her silence and composure. "It looks

like a man," she said, scrutinising the ringleader. "If it is the devil, I will know before he leaves the house." In the moment she bolted the door, summoned witnesses from the assembly, sent for a constable, and forthwith preferred her charges. Sentence of imprisonment was pronounced upon the accused; but being moved at the tears and pleadings of his mother, Miss Pearce obtained a commutation of the sentence to a fine—half of the money to be spent on the poor, and half on the printing of handbills containing an account of the disturbance, to be placarded in the vicinity—the magistrate declining to inflict a lesser punishment. The result was, the quelling of ruffianism in the place, and the conversion of the ringleader who had represented it.

During this encounter an officer of the law reproved her for being "out of her sphere," and began to search for scriptural proof against woman's preaching. Unable to discover the passages bearing on this point, Miss Pearce found them for him, and expounded them in so orderly and cogent a manner that he was astonished at the refutation *in propria persona* of his argument, and exclaimed, "Who shall say that a woman must not preach!" Again, when threatened by a band of scoffers, she chose the text, "Suffer me that I may speak; and after that I have spoken, mock on." She discoursed of the dignity and destiny of man, and of his fall, asking, "Is this a theme to mock at?" She described the life and the redemption of our Lord, and repeated the question. She explained repentance, faith, pardon, peace, sanctification; urging still, "Do these themes deserve the scorn of man?" She spoke of death, the resurrection, the judgment; of heaven, hell, eternity; asking, "Are these realities to be mocked at?" By this time the men were abashed and pallid. In tones of solemnity and warning she repeated the words, "Now, mock on!" What could have been more effective than a sermon indicated by these outlines, with such a peroration! The mockers were heard of no more. The truth is, the preacher's courage was akin to Luther's. She faltered at neither phantom nor reality; she feared nothing but the wrath of God. With a heart thoroughly gentle and feminine, her consciousness must have been something like that of Nelson, who, on being told, when a boy, he would meet with hunger, cold, and fear if he went upon a certain daring excursion, asked, "What is fear? I never saw it."

She preached a sermon, mentioned as "remarkable," when Asa Shinn and Nicholas Snethen, eminent men in the denomination, were among her auditors, the latter minister following her with an exhortation. Twice she delivered a sermon before a Conference of the Methodist Protestants, an assembly containing men of genius and devotion. Yet at this time, 1831, she was probably the only preacher among her sex in the country, and one of but few upon

the globe. The Conference sent a deputation to ask whether she would accept an appointment. "You might appoint me to Cincinnati, and my husband to Pittsburgh," she smilingly objected, "and that, you know, sirs, would never do." She wished simply to work as she could with him to whom she was the most faithful of wives, as her watchings, and cares, and tenderness attested. On several occasions, by her intrepidity and wisdom, she rescued him from impending death. Superior to him in gifts, she was pleased to remain his helpmeet merely, and never hurt, by undue assumption, the love she had awakened. With an unusual, and, as it seems to us, an admirable magnanimity, he terms her his true yoke-fellow, his dear companion in the Gospel, his beloved colleague. When he heard the persuasive utterances that fell from her lips, his heart, he writes, was quickened with gratitude. The two were inspired with one spirit, one consecration from the beginning. And no member of Congress or Parliament whose wife, as a leader of society, enhances his position and enlarges his influence, could felicitate himself on his marital relations more than did this good English minister over his helpmeet in the Gospel. To their followers they must have appeared as

> "Co-supremes in unison,
> Two distincts, division none.
> . . . How true a twain
> Seemed this concordant one."

By much tact and patience she had overcome the objections of her kindred to her departure from England, and had encountered perils by sea and land to unite her life and labours with his in the wilds of a new State. Immediately upon their marriage they set forth upon an itinerant journey that extended through five large counties of Ohio, where they proclaimed the Gospel by day and by night. This peculiar union—where unequal but not diverse gifts were set together, where one life was not simply complemented by another, but the two, redoubled in activities, were energised and vitalised by the blending—this anomalous but most felicitous union with the lover of her maidenhood remained intact to the end.

Those singular manifestations that our early itinerants regarded as evidences of the divine power upon the organism of man were not wanting in the course of her ministrations. At a meeting she attended a maiden, falling in a trance, emptied the grate of glowing coals with bare hands, and experienced no harm. Mrs. Reeves witnessed this phenomenon, and testifies to the piety of the young woman, who subsequently, in single and married life, exemplified the power of the faith so strangely attested on this occasion. Again, when many were stricken down, and "lay like corpses," a young man fell in a trance that continued for a fort-

night. Friends, physicians, and others examined the case, but could not explain it. During this period he took no food, yet preserved a healthy pulse. In a brief interval of consciousness he sent a message to a lady who had striven long and without avail for the consciousness of pardon, bidding her be of good cheer: the suffering for sin would shortly be dispersed by "the blessing." She took heart at the word, and soon entered into the liberty wherewith Christ maketh free. When consciousness at last returned he was dumb, like Zacharias of old, but signified that he would regain his speech at a specified time. On the day mentioned his lips were unsealed, and he spake, praising and glorifying God. Though reticent of his experience during this partial suspension of physical functions, as if he had seen that which is unlawful for a man to utter, he did, nevertheless, relate things "marvellous indeed" to those that stood by. Various theories are entertained regarding such instances of physical suspension and spiritual vision. Those simply of suspension are explicable physiologically; some are psychological, some may be spiritual in their origin. Be this as it may, such phenomena do actually occur; they are factual, to use a positive term, if not invariably explicable. Mrs. Reeves herself once or twice "lost her strength," and recovered it with shoutings. But her mental structure was too orderly and compacted to admit of frequent demonstrations of this sort. With her, though spontaneous—for they could not have been made or forced—they were resultant, doubtless, from the character of her work and that of the class among whom she laboured.

The benign fruits of the Spirit, manifested with peculiar grace in Christian womanhood, in her spread a soft radiance over a character that otherwise might have been too sharply salient on its vigorous sides. The impelling motive of her life lay in a faith that in its active phase is evinced as an enthusiasm for humanity. "Friends, kindred, dear brotherhood of all the world," were greeted by her sympathies and amenities. Wherever she lived or journeyed she found her parish, and all within it might feel the winning influence of her love. By her tender persuasions not a few of her kindred and personal friends were reclaimed from intemperance and irreligion. Over and again her presence and her winning words disarmed the prejudice of those who had regarded women's preaching as a monstrous error. The sweetness of her influence illustrated her name, Hannah—the gracious, the merciful. When typhoid fever spread among her charges, and she perceived that the medical men of the rude settlements were incompetent to treat it, she used her own knowledge and skill, which must have been considerable, and went about as nurse and physician in one till the disease was conquered. She herself suffered from a partial attack of it after all her patients were recovered. With a

Universalist she conversed much on the divine beneficence, instead of thrusting at her with controversial weapons, as a less wise person would have done. Thus, by the allurements of gentleness, she drew her friend over to her own belief and communion. Among the Friends she announced that she was deeply impressed to make an appointment for the early morning, that the working people might have opportunity to hear the Gospel before their toil began. The Friends approved the proposal, as made by one moved of the Spirit. A Church member, somewhat staggered by her extraordinary influence with the people, was led to fear for masculine domination in the councils of the Society. "Mrs. Reeves would sway her husband," he said; "Mr. Reeves would rule the Church; the denomination would suffer; the result might prove a gyneocracy —a woman-rule." Troubled with this apprehension, he set himself as watcher over the object of it; but after several weeks of scrutiny could find no fault in one who went about intent on naught but works of healing and consolation. He went to her in private with confessions of his error, and constituted himself thereafter her redoubtable champion.

A ruffianly man living within her husband's circuit had openly threatened him with violence. Mr. Reeves, to avoid a brawl, passed by "on the other side" from the man's abode, being convinced that overtures in this case would be useless if not provocative. But Mrs. Reeves, yearning for this alienated soul, went alone to him, "entreated him kindly," and led him, changed in a right mind, to the feet of Him who cast out evil and clamorous spirits. Truly, one might lawfully pray for more of such preachers, whether they be men or women! The fact that the most desperate cases, and the most vicious classes, can be reached by the influence of womankind, often, it would seem, only by this power, is worthy of consideration by religious philanthropists and organisers. Felons, convicts, lunatics, adjudged to be utterly unreclaimable by the authorities of Newgate, became obedient to the gentle sway of Elizabeth Fry. And souls lost in the back slums of the Five Points, souls that neither policemen nor ministers of the Gospel could reach, were brought to light and humanised by the group of Methodist ladies who, with no exterior protection, penetrated the place some twenty years ago.

This wonderful power of Christian womanhood was evinced not in the deeds alone, but in the daily life of Mrs. Reeves. Living upon a spiritual plane of existence, free from vexations and confusions, she drew to herself whoever looked to her for relief. Without descending from her own serene altitudes, she lifted other souls from their cloudier ones. Skilful to heal the body and to illuminate the spirit, influence also went forth from her to restore the diseased mind. Being for a time under the roof with an insane woman,

she took her in charge, and following her trustworthy instinct, or sense, adopted the same regimen that a physician would prescribe in like case. Soothing words, apt replies, tact in yielding to the patient's whims, suitable employment interchanged with diversion, allayed the fever of the brain, and restored the sufferer to calmness and peace. She lived a number of years thereafter, ever abounding in gratitude to this handmaiden of the Healer of man. A good brother, whose wife had been led to Christ through her influence, unable to procure any other gifts, offered her their infant daughter as the dearest sacrifice their hearts could make. It received in baptism the name, Hannah Pearce. Mrs. Reeves, who had lost an only child, pressed the little creature to her bosom, but refused to bear it away from the maternal one. The biography adds, as a last touch to this picture, that the babe's mother covered it with kisses, and held it as if it should leave her clasp no more. She comprehended, perhaps, something of the feeling that shook Abraham's heart when, after the supreme moment of sacrifice, Isaac lay unharmed and smiling in his embrace.

Thus, blessing and being blessed, the "Mother" of her people approached the close of life. In her sixtieth year, impaired in health, she performed a Sabbath's services for a Church in Cincinnati, and accepted an appointment for the next evening to preach from the same pulpit. Unable to absent herself from her over hospitable friends through the day, and longing for an hour of repose and meditation, she repaired towards evening to the church, and leaned her head upon the front of a pew. But she had scarcely fallen in a light slumber when the hour of service was announced, and, unrefreshed, she ascended the pulpit stairs. In the first prayer she was so wrought upon by exhaustion and fervour that she thought to "have gone home then and there." Yet she arose to preach from the text, "When I am weak then am I strong." The force of this deep truth, proclaimed by one who was upheld in that hour not by her own, but by the divine strength, was felt with solemnity by the assembly. The presence of Him whose power is made perfect in weakness was with the people, and many were turned from their sinfulnes to His salvation as the result of this sermon. It was her last in the regular course of her labours, though she continued abundant in good works and in afflictions to the end, which came nine years later. She helped in raising funds for the Churches, in the Sunday-school, and occasionally in the pulpit. Her last discourse from it was made in her sixty-eighth year, upon a text full of significance, as uttered by an aged teacher of sacred truth and an exemplar of a holy life: "Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent, that ye may be found of Him in peace, without spot, and blameless."

Like nearly all her co-labourers in the first fields of the Church,

she died well. Long before the last day of life she had learned to think of the grave simply as a place of grateful rest. She gently corrected her friends when they spoke of the gloom of the dark valley, and encouraged her husband when he trembled at their separation. She thought on Saturday it would be "good to go home on Sunday." Her tranquility is strongly contrasted with the distress of her "true yoke-fellow," who, being in an agony, besought God for support in the coming trial. Toward the last her utterances passed from tones of serenity to cadences of triumph. "He is with me; He has told me He would abide with me to the end; He has kept his word. Open the door wide; let it be seen how happily a Christian can die!" she exclaimed, repeating the words of another illustrious Christian in his latest hour. "All is well," she affirmed often, and murmured, as if meditating upon the sustaining thought of the hymn:—

"When langour and disease invade
This trembling house of clay,
'Tis sweet to look beyond my pains,
To heaven's eternal day."

On the morning of November 13, 1868, sitting in her arm-chair, her head reclining against a pillow, her hands folded, she fell asleep, the sleep which is an awakening to the life immortal. So passed the strong, heroic soul away.

The actual results of Mrs. Reeves' ministry cannot be given in words or numbers. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of souls were led by her from darkness to the true Light. But her influence on the multitudes whose minds and hearts were quickened by contact with her own, her influence upon the social elements gathered and combining in newly-opened tracts of country, is altogether beyond estimate. It is vital to-day in the lives of those who dwell in the region of her labours. It will pass onward in silent waves through the years to come, nor will the breadth or depth of the stream be measurable in time. In the consummation of time it may be seen, perchance, intermingled with the tide of service allotted to this ardent spirit, excelling in strength, eternally fulfilling the Will that created it for blessing and honour in the kingdom of grace. "And they shall reign for ever and ever. . . . And his servants shall serve him."

Mrs. Reeves' personal appearance was in keeping with her character. A working woman, she was invested with native dignity. Without beauty in the common acceptation, she always seemed beautiful, because the beautiful virtues of strength, steadfastness, courage, tenderness, emanated from her presence. Looking upon the transcript of her face, serene, kind, touched with the sadness of humanity, and with the compassion of the Son of man—and upon her hands, scarcely less significant than the face—soft, shapely, maternal hands, that brought gifts to men: whose

touch conveyed healing, benignity, goodness,—looking upon these, one is constrained to think, this was, of a truth, a chosen messenger, a servant obedient to the heavenly will. Humble as were the surroundings of her lot, lowly as was her spirit, intent upon tasks that were wrought in all humility, and that would often have been repugnant to an unconsecrated ambition, we can but say, looking backward from the closing of this life,

> "Thou to woman's claim
> And man's didst join besides the angel's grace
> Of a pure genius sanctified from blame."

Not many are like her; yet some may approach to her semblance. Hence this example, though absent and voiceless, claims encouragement and opportunity for the woman of excellence in whatever class or place she may stand, waiting for an open way; until her province shall be enlarged, even as his whose consort she is; until in the world, as in the ideal Church, there shall be neither male nor female, save for the divine ordering, in the mutual duties of the family,—but both shall be as one in the universal service of Him who has created all existences to obey his will with ardour, and to live in the liberty of his love.—Abridged from the *American Methodist Quarterly Review.*

ART. II.—PROMINENT ECCLESIASTICAL MOVEMENTS.

IT is almost needless to affirm that we cannot deal exhaustively with this important subject. It is far too wide and comprehensive to be so treated in one brief address.* To have elaborated the matter fully it would have been requisite, we judge, to notice in the first place all the prominent movements now going on within particular Churches; and, in the second place, those ecclesiastical movements which are agitating the nation; and, in the third place, those which are affecting the European continent and the world at large. We must necessarily limit ourselves to a "select few" out of the many points which demand attention, and even these must be treated with a rigorous brevity. In order to give the subject the appearance of something like comprehensiveness, we propose to refer, in the first place, to certain movements which principally affect the doctrinal standards of the Church. This affords us an opportunity of glancing at two movements which are just now agitating the Scottish Churches, viz., the rationalistic controversy in the Free Church, and the ferment in

*The substance of an address delivered at the annual meeting of the Primitive Methodist Ministers' Association of the Sunderland District, held at Crook, May 9th, 1877.

the United Presbyterian Church respecting the catechisms and the Westminster Confession of Faith.

Professor Smith, of the Free Church College, Aberdeen, is the author of an article upon the Bible which has recently appeared in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* This article his critics pronounce to be strongly tainted with rationalism. It is, therefore, a matter of serious alarm to the Free Church—that strictly orthodox Church—to have a rationalist professor in its divinity hall, a man who denies the Mosaic authorship of the book of Deuteronomy and the Divine inspiration of the Song of Solomon and the synoptical gospels. The Professor's case is to be investigated at the approaching Synod; but, as he is not alone in his peculiar notions, it is impossible to predict where this rationalistic movement will terminate.

The other movement to which we referred is identified with what a member of the Edinburgh Presbytery the other week called "the triple alliance of journalism, philosophy, and poetry—McCrae, Ferguson, and Mill." These three ministers belong to the United Presbyterian Church, and their contention is that the doctrinal standards hitherto recognised have become antiquated and obsolete, and do not in many respects correctly embody the present belief and teaching of the Church. They go further, indeed, and fearlessly assert that their venerable documents contain many things diametrically opposed to the teaching of the Church at the present day. Their object, therefore, is to effect either a revision of the doctrinal standards or the introduction of a new formula for subscription on the part of ministers and elders.

There can be no doubt that this movement is rapidly spreading, and that the general spirit and teaching of the Presbyterian Churches is undergoing a radical change. The agitation upon this subject seems to be periodical. This is really the third, if not the fourth, agitation that has arisen respecting these theological standards. Only about six or seven years ago the Rev. George Gilfillan started an animated debate relative to certain objectional points. A few years previous to that, again, Principal Tulloch criticised the Confession of Faith severely. Going twenty years further back still, we find the eminent commentator, Dr. Morison, and his coadjutors, the founders of the Evangelical Union, which now numbers one hundred churches, were expelled, on similar grounds, from the United Secession Church; and one authority has threatened the modern reformers with a like fate; but in our judgment such a summary course will not retard but rather accelerate the progress of the evil which the authorities are desirous to suppress. Revision, or a new formula, we think, must come sooner or later, for there can be no dispute that the rigid Calvinism of the document in question is becoming increasingly

repugnant to the Presbyterian bodies. Mr. Gilfillan very recently stated that "the Confession of Faith contains great, broad, glaring errors, opposed to science, scripture, and to human instinct." He cannot understand how probationers accept it. "The probationer just makes a great gulp, shuts his eyes, and swallows the whole." He also predicts that "by and by people will look with wonder at the man who has swallowed, and survived the swallowing, of the Confession, just as we admire a man who has risen victorious from a dose of prussic acid."

But we must now leave the Scottish Churches and pass on to notice the most prominent movement in the English Church. We refer to the High Church movement now in progress within the pale of our so-called National Establishment. It can scarcely be called recent, for upwards of forty years have passed since it originated with those three remarkable men—Newman, Pusey, and Keble. This movement is essentially one of development; it has undoubtedly expanded immensely beyond the original anticipations of its authors, and where it will end it requires no inspired seer to foretell. The identity of Ritualism with Romanism is now virtually complete. It is said that Dr. Whateley had two black cats, one of which he called Puseyism and the other Popery. They were so much alike in size and colour that when he called one he could not tell which came. The similarity between Whateley's domestic pets not inaptly represents the similarity subsisting between High Churchism and Roman Catholicism. So close is the resemblance, that, if there be any difference whatever, it would require a microscopic examination to reveal it. This Ritualistic leprosy is rapidly diffusing itself through the entire body of the Episcopal Church; its promoters are becoming more arrogant and presumptuous every day; the letter and spirit of every law, civil and ecclesiastical, which obstruct their path is contemptuously ignored, and even the Public Worship Regulation Bill has been boldly set at defiance, as in the notorious Hatcham case. Happily, the law in this instance has not been violated with impunity. The fanatical Mr. Tooth has at length fairly stepped into the line of apostolical succession in the item of "imprisonment," and in addition to that his friends have solemnly proclaimed him to be a martyr for the truth!

Now, we must confess that to us all this priestly assumption and unbounded arrogance is perfectly sickening and revolting. If these men belonged to a free church, and were supported by the voluntary contributions of their hearers, we might then at least respect them for their sincerity and zeal. But what are the actual facts? Why, they are avowedly ministers of a Protestant Church; immense revenues are granted them on the sole condition that they teach and preach Protestant truths; and yet, all the while

these very men unblushingly and zealously propagate the worst errors and superstitions of Rome. In the name of common honesty and manliness, we hold that they should come out of the Establishment and either set up for themselves or go over to Popery.

This singular revival of priestism in this country is regarded by many as an ominous sign of the times, as portending dark and terrible days; but, speaking for ourselves, we cannot look upon it in that light. We regard it rather as a kind of death struggle on the part of priestcraft, the days of which are numbered. English Ritualism is but one of the many convulsive throes which the great Mystery of Iniquity may be expected to make before it finally expires. It seems to us that the keenest conflict of the future will not be so much between Christianity and priestism as between Christianity and materialism, for it is obvious that the currents of infidelity are flowing mainly in that direction. In the meantime, however, the opposite forces of sacerdotalism and materialism to some extent neutralise each other, while Christianity marches steadily onward to sure and certain victory.

But we must proceed to notice, in the second place, prominent ecclesiastical movements of another character, viz., those which relate to church organisation.

The first to which we wish to call attention is the union consummated last year by the two main Presbyterian bodies in England—the United Presbyterians and the English Presbyterians. This we believe to be a step decidedly in the right direction. To us the wonder is that, with so little to divide them, they should have been so long in uniting. We are informed that an effort was to have been made at the Synod recently held in London to incorporate the twenty-six churches south of the Tweed, now in communion with the Scotch Established Church. But although we watched the proceedings of the Synod, we did not notice anything relative to this matter. Possibly, however, in a few years these churches will become absorbed by the larger body, and then one of the apparent anomalies in church life will be removed from the category of adverse criticism, and the Presbyterians will add materially to their strength and moral power in the country. Another significant fact is the almost simultaneous union which has taken place among all the Presbyterian churches in Australia and Canada; and it is well known that negotiations for a similar union between the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland have long been carried on, although just now temporarily suspended. The probability is, however, that in the course of very few years these two sections will amalgamate, and then become practically the one great Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

One of the tendencies of the times, therefore, would seem to be

towards organic union; minor differences are being set aside, and the advantages of union are being recognised. This fact suggests to us a query of considerable interest and importance. It is this: "Has not the time arrived when a union of the various Methodist churches is desirable?" The lay representation movement in the Wesleyan body is a fact of the utmost significance in relation to this point. That movement, as is well known, has been in operation for several years. After being repeatedly shelved or remitted to committees of investigation, the liberalising forces have at length gained a distinct triumph. Not a complete one, perhaps, for there still remain certain restrictions and limitations of a conservative character which some future radical movement will easily sweep away. But the main feature of a liberal church polity has been granted, and in all probability the supreme court in the Wesleyan Connexion next year will be composed of an equal number of ministers and laymen.* This principle, then, being conceded, the greatest barrier in the way of a general combination of the Methodist bodies will have been removed. Speaking generally, we are almost identical in doctrine, in forms of worship, and within twelve months from this time we shall be essentially the same in church polity. On what conceivable grounds, therefore, should the present state of things among us be perpetuated? Are not our many divisions a source of weakness rather than of strength? Would not a general union add immensely to the prestige and moral and political influence of Methodism in the country? Would it not remove the cause of much denominational jealousy in many localities? Would it not put an end to the anomalies which exist at present in many rural districts, where there are two poor chapels and two little struggling congregations, both of which together would scarcely form one strong and vigorous church? In short, would it not tend to promote the interest of Christianity generally, and of Methodism in particular?

Some argue that the present divisions tend to promote a healthy rivalry and zeal in the Church. We cannot perceive much force in the objection. There are hostile forces enough outside of Methodism, and these ought to afford sufficient stimulus of that nature; besides, the proper stimulus of the Church should come from above, and not from beneath; and who knows but that these breaches tend to prevent rather than to secure the heavenly baptism?

Organic unity is apparently the tendency of the times, and all churches seem to be feeling its influence. On the one hand, Roman Catholicism is consolidating itself under one infallible head; on the other, the Protestant churches are converging to a

*This address, it must be remembered, was delivered in May last.

common centre. The Presbyterians are combining their forces; the Congregationalists are seeking a closer affinity; so are the Baptists; and there are indications that the Methodist churches are beginning to participate in this spirit of the age. Moreover, it appears to us that a union of the Methodist churches throughout the world would be an important advance towards that millenium for which we so often pray. In what relation the several sections of the Christian Church may stand to each other when that period arrives it is impossible to determine; what adjustments may take place in regard to doctrine or to organisation, or what new elements may emerge, are matters upon which it would be useless to speculate; but one thing is obvious from the prayer of the Saviour —that a time is coming when an essential unanimity or oneness shall characterise His universal Church. "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me (John xvii. 21, 22).

We cannot close without briefly referring to what are sometimes called politico-religious movements. The question of education, in its lower as well as higher forms, still occupies a prominent position in the practical controversies of the country; but it is a complicated subject, and the exigencies of space forbid our entering upon it. We therefore at once proceed to another "burning question," viz.:—

THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD.—The graveyards are national property, and the law guarantees to every citizen the privilege of interment according to the rites of the Episcopal Church. But if we have a legal claim to bury our dead in these sacred enclosures, have we not an equal right to select our own minister and to prescribe our own burial service? Why should we have thrust upon us an alien official, and be placed at the mercy of a functionary of the state?. On what principle of justice should we, who bear our proportionate share of the national burdens, be denied some of our national rights?

But we are gravely informed by our episcopal friends that our grievance is merely sentimental, not real. That has always been a favourite argument with monopolists. The Tories have always argued so in relation to proposed measures of reform. The American planters maintained that the slaves were better off in bondage than they would be as free men. The brewers and publicans can see no great evil arising from the drink traffic; neither can clergymen see the grievance complained of by Dissenters. But clergymen are not the parties we care to consult upon these points; they are too apt to look at them through the medium of their prejudice and their interests. We can see and

judge for ourselves; and most assuredly the time has gone by when Nonconformists will have palmed upon them such a contemptible measure as the Duke of Richmond's Burials Bill.* Already the Nonconformists throughout the country have protested against this piece of clerical tinkering and legislative mockery. But if, in defiance of such a united and determined protest, our present Conservative rulers should insist upon carrying this outrageous measure through both Houses of Parliament, we venture to say it will be one of the best, as well as one of the worst, things they have ever done. It will be one of the worst, inasmuch as it will greatly aggravate our present grievance; but, on the other hand, it will be one of the best, inasmuch as it will give a mighty impetus to the greatest politico-religious movement of the day, namely:

THE DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.—The question of disestablishment is rapidly advancing in Scotland too. Many influential public meetings have recently been held; the Free Churches are becoming increasingly earnest and active, and the agitation is fast approaching a crisis. The Scotch Establishment is certainly doomed to fall before long. But the question which most immediately concerns ourselves is the disestablishment and disendowment of the English Church. That such a thing is not an impracticability has been proved in the case of the Irish Church, which is now more flourishing than ever. That it is desirable is apparent from the present pitiable and hopelessly divided condition of the Church herself. That it is a necessity is daily forcing itself upon the attention of politicians and statesmen. That Christianity cannot flourish in State fetters is the melancholy testimony of history. The functions of the Church are totally different from those of the State, and nothing but trouble and vexation to both can result from an alliance between them.

But it is not on purely abstract grounds that we condemn the connection of the Church with the State. We regard it as a monstrous injustice that any one sect should be singled out by the State and set up as a model church, and be dignified with the appellation of "The National Church;" that its ministers should receive enormous revenues from the State, have granted unto them special privileges with respect to the marriage laws, and exercise supreme control over the national graveyards; that its bishops should have seats in the House of Lords, and the whole hierarchy be placed, by virtue of their connection with the State, as a superior order of beings, to whom the titles "Rev.," "Very Rev.," and "Right Rev." should be exclusively applied.

In our judgment, the pretensions and assumptions of these men have reached the climax of arrogance, and are no longer endurable.

*The Burial Question has entered a new phase since this address was delivered.—ED.

The latest, but not the least, significant movement is the effort which has been made to induce Convocation to devise a method by which the clergy may continue to enjoy the privileges and emoluments of the State, and at the same time be released from State control. The present condition of things is to them distressing. Their hands are tied; they are threatened with persecution, and, consequently, they are in a terrible dilemma. They must either sacrifice their conscientious belief or give up their privileges as a State Church. Surrender their peculiar dogmas they will not; connection with the State, therefore, must be abandoned. That is just what we want, and just what we must have. The agencies of demolition are multiplying on every side. The English Establishment is being assailed both from within and without, and it is marvellous that she has endured the siege so long. But the sentence of death has been pronounced, the knell of her doom is sounding; and at no distant date this giant monopoly shall be numbered with the things of the past.

To conclude, it will be evident, from this rapid and imperfect sketch of prominent ecclesiastical movements, that much reform is still needed. There are many theoretical and practical problems of great importance yet to be solved. The point of finality is yet far away. Many serious conflicts may safely be predicted, and the keenest intellectual gladiatorship may yet be witnessed; but out of all this apparent evil we believe a gracious Providence will evolve lasting good. Let us hope that in the "golden age" of a progressive future no politico-religious questions will disturb the peace and retard the prosperity of the Church; that the present conflicting faiths of men shall gradually resolve themselves into one harmonious creed, which will command the hearty assent of all lovers of the truth; and also that out of the many diversified forms of church organisation there may yet be developed one which, while excluding the defects of each, shall embody the excellencies of all. Then, and perhaps not till then, shall there be "One body . . . . . one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all."

J. S. W.

Art. III.—THE INTUITIVE THEORY OF MORALS.*

THE subject we are at present to consider is one of "Moral Philosophy," or "Ethics"—terms which, as commonly used, both mean the same thing. The aim of moral philosophy is

* The substance of a paper read before the Itinerant Preachers' Association of the Sunderland District, in May last, and published by request. The writer wishes to state that he has received great assistance in the preparation of this paper from Professor Calderwood's "Handbook of Moral Philosophy," a book which he takes this opportunity of recommending to young ministers and students as the most concise and valuable work of the kind he knows.

to construct a rational explanation of man's moral nature, moral relations, and moral actions. In dealing with our moral nature, moral philosophy institutes an inquiry into the character and action of our moral faculties, and into the manner in which we arrive at the knowledge of moral distinctions. In dealing with our moral relations it seeks to determine the ground of moral obligation, and, in doing so, rises speculatively into a consideration of the moral order of the universe. In treating of moral actions it brings under consideration the knowledge requisite for the guidance of human conduct, and prescribes rules for that end.

It is described as being primarily a "Science of Observation," because it must begin by observing, distinguishing, and classifying moral phenomena, both internal and external; and must then proceed from ascertained facts to generalisation by a logical process of induction. It is also described as a "Speculative Science," because, in dealing with man's relations, it must necessarily grapple with problems of existence which lie beyond the sphere of observation, but which observation naturally suggests. It is further described as a "Practical Science," because it deals with principles and motives which should regulate the conduct of life.

Morals belong to mind, and any sound theory of morals—as any theory of mind—must begin by examining the facts and workings of the mind by a process of introspection with a view to ascertaining the facts given in consciousness. The first step is to interrogate the mind itself. This investigation elicits three primary facts as given in consciousness, and without a recognition of which moral philosophy would be simply impossible. These facts are: (1) The consciousness of self as possessing intelligence; (2) the consciousness of self as possessed of active powers; and (3) the consciousness of self as possessed of the powers of self-determination: or, in other words, Personality, Activity, Will. There are different opinions as to the nature of these, and conflicting theories as to their origin; but unless their existence is granted to begin with moral action is inconceivable, and, of course, no such thing as a theory of morals is possible. To put it in other words, moral philosophy presupposes the possession by man of a moral nature.

Given, then, the fact that man is a moral agent, the problems of moral philosophy are: (1) What is the *source* of his moral ideas? (2) What is the *ground* of moral distinctions? (3) What are the true *rules* of moral action? The first question as to the source of our moral ideas is a psychological one, involving a process of inquiry into the *faculties* of the mind; this is called the "Psychology of Ethics." The second question concerning the ground of moral distinctions raises inquiry into the *relations* we sustain to the Absolute Being, the Moral Ruler, or the moral order

of the universe—a process of abstract thought, and is designated the "Metaphysic of Ethics." The third question deals with the application of ethical principles to conduct, and is known as "Applied" or "Practical Ethics." Thus it will be seen that moral philosophy has three great branches, leading out into endless ramifications of inquiry and discussion, which we cannot undertake to follow. The central problems, however, may be said to lie in a nutshell; and what we now purpose to do is to fix attention on the main points of difficulty, and indicate the manner in which a solution is sought by different schools of moralists. This will, we think, be the best way to bring out the distinctive features of the Intuitional Theory. But in doing this we shall only need to speak of the two first problems we have indicated—the psychological and the metaphysical one.

I.—Take first, then, the source of our moral ideas. How do we arrive at a *conception* of the difference between right and wrong, ought and ought not? That we have the ideas these words are meant to express is not questioned.* The question is, how do these ideas get into the mind? One class of moralists say we arrive at them by direct intuition; another class say we arrive at them by observing the injurious or beneficial effects of certain lines of action. The one answer is that they are immediately given in consciousness; the other, that they are the result of experience and observation—the one, that their source is in the mind itself; the other, that this source is in the outer world. This marks broadly a main distinction between the intuitive theory, on the one hand, and the utilitarian or development theory, on the other. We may remark, by the way, that what is called the development theory of morals is simply utilitarianism seeking to harmonise itself with the Darwinian theory of development—a kind of marriage of Benthamism and Darwinism, John Stewart Mill and Professor Bain being the chief officiating priests.

Under this head there are two points of inquiry; one concerning the knowledge of moral distinction, the other concerning the specific power or faculty of the mind by which the distinction is recognised.

1. The question we have first to consider, then, relates to the *knowledge* of moral distinction as it is found in the mind. This question must not be confounded with the *ground* or foundation of moral distinction, which is a question relating to what lies outside our personality, and belongs not to the psychology, but to the

*Except by the advocates of universal scepticism. The reality of moral distinctions is admitted by Hume. The general recognition of this distinction is evidenced both by personal experience and social life. We experience self-approbation and self-disapprobation; and we condemn and punish certain actions in others. See *Calderwood*, p. 21.

metaphysic of ethics, and which we shall notice under our second head. Now, the intuitive theory rests on the position that the first principles of moral distinction are given immediately in the mind; that these principles are not acquired by reasoning, or observation, or by any process of generalisation from observed facts; but they are in their very nature axiomatic, and underlie all reasoning and judgment upon moral subjects. To illustrate this position, let us call to mind what we have said as to the primary facts of consciousness, viz., our consciousness of personality, active powers, and power of intelligent self-direction. Now, the possession of these powers carries along with it an *intuitive* recognition of the principle *that it is right to use our active powers for their natural ends.* We say that we arrive intuitively at this principle because the reverse of it is not conceivable. Let any one try to *think* it *wrong* to use his natural powers for their natural ends, and he will find that he cannot. Such a possibility is precluded by the laws of mind. A man may as well try to imagine two hills without a hollow between, or to think that two and two can be any other number than four. Here, then, is an *intuitive* moral principle; not a proposition arrived at by reasoning, but a first principle of knowledge, which springs direct from the inner depths of the mind, and is involved in all intelligent self-directed action.

In the sphere of the *intellect* there are first principles of knowledge, recognised by the leading writers on mental science as springing immediately from the laws of mind, which cannot themselves be proved, but are presupposed in all efforts at proof. On these principles all reasoning proceeds. They are the hidden roots supporting all visible truth. They are always present with us, but we only distinctly recognise their existence when we turn our attention in on the mind itself, and search them out by a process of subtle analysis. These axiomatic principles of reason have been variously designated by different philosophers as the "Categories of the understanding," "Ideas of pure reason" (Kant), "Principles of the *communis sensus*" (Reid), "Laws of human thought or belief" (Stewart), "Indispensable conditions of thought" (Macintosh), "Fundamental ideas" (Whewell). But by whatever names these primary intellectual principles may be called, the fact of their existence is indisputable. They are the beginnings of knowledge, the first intuitions of truth in the mind, and by which the correctness of all further knowledge must be tested. If a man is asked to say what sum a given number of figures amount to, he may not be able to do so till he has gone back on the rules of arithmetic. He must start with "twice one are two." But suppose he is asked to prove that twice one are two. He at once finds that this is the first step in arithmetical calculation, and he

cannot go behind it; that it is taken by an irreversible law of the intellect, and he cannot gainsay it. Or, suppose I say "the shilling in my pocket cannot be in yours at the same moment." The proposition is at once recognised as true; but if I am asked to prove it, I can only give the reason so often assigned by our lady friends, "Because it cannot." There are, then, in the sphere of the intellect first principles of knowledge, which are arrived at, not by a process of reasoning, but by direct intuition. Now, the position of the intuitive moralist is that in the sphere of voluntary action there are similar first principles of moral truth given in the mind by direct intuition. M'Cosh says, "Let a deed of cruelty or injustice be presented, and no one denies that the mind instantly indicates its abhorrence of it; and what we affirm is, that it does so according to a fundamental principle of the human mind."

Let us now go back to the principle "that it is *right* to use our natural powers for their natural ends." This principle is of the nature of a primary moral judgment; it cannot be proved; yet it is recognised as true by an inherent power of the mind. Of this principle Professor Calderwood says that it may be accounted the earliest and most general form in which the distinction between right and wrong is recognised; "that it may even be regarded as the foundation principle of morality," and "that if unity in morals is attainable, it is here" (p. 33). A distinction, however, is to be drawn between the following propositions:—

That it is *right* to use our natural powers for natural ends.

That it is *agreeable* to use our natural powers, &c.

That it is *useful* to use, &c.

Of these propositions it is only the first that is, properly speaking, intuitive. That it is agreeable to use our powers is discovered in action. That it is useful is seen in the effects of action. The two latter come from experience and observation when action has taken place. But that it is *right* to use our powers is presupposed in all voluntary actions, and is, therefore, an intuitive recognition of moral principle. The manner in which this principle rises up into the complicated relations of property may be indicated thus:—

It is *right to use* our productive powers.—This gives

It is right to *produce* property.—This again gives

It is right to possess property.

Thus arise what are known as proprietary rights and the virtues connected with them, such as industry, honesty, fairness; and the opposites of these, as idleness, theft, roguery. If we are asked why theft is wrong, we answer, because it is a violation of the right to hold property. If asked, on what does the right to hold property rest, the answer is, on the right of production. If asked to justify the right of production, the answer is, that it is right to use our

natural powers for their natural ends. Here we come back to the primary intuition, and can go no further.

It will be seen, then, from the foregoing observations, that, as in the sphere of thought we intuitively recognise certain axiomatic principles as *true*, so, in the sphere of conduct, we intuitively recognise certain moral principles as *right;* as, for instance, that justice is right, that truthfulness is right, that benevolence is right, and that their opposites are wrong.

But, further, the intuitional power which gives the knowledge of moral distinction gives also the feeling of moral obligation. When the *right* has once been determined, the mind inevitably recognises it as invested with the authority of *law*. Right is by its very nature authoritative; and the intuition of what we must regard as absolute truth carries along with it what, in respect to voluntary action, we cannot help feeling to be absolute law. This is what Kant calls the "categorical imperative." When the right course of conduct is known, the feeling of *ought* is the inseparable accompaniment of the knowledge. It is the soul's response to the inherent authority of right.

2. We must glance at the particular mental faculty by which, according to the theory we are now considering, moral distinctions are recognised and enforced, viz., conscience. If the intuitive theory is to be established on a sound philosophical basis, it becomes a matter of great importance that the nature and functions of conscience should be clearly understood and defined. The popular view of this faculty is so indefinite, and the language employed respecting it so inexact, that when one comes to examine it, the mass of confusion and entanglement is such as to make the task seem almost hopeless. The fact is, that three distinct things which ought to be considered separately have all been embraced under the term conscience. Under this designation have been comprehended the intuitive faculty, or conscience, properly so called; the moral judgment; and the moral sentiments. Each of these has separate characteristics and functions; but when they are all thrown together under one term the effect cannot well be other than confusing. Men speak of the "supremacy of conscience," and of the "sacredness of conscience;" and yet they speak of "an erring conscience" and of conscientious convictions," which are wrong. When an "erring" or "unenlightened" conscience is spoken of, it is really the judgment which men form on moral subjects that is intended. When they speak of a "tender conscience," or an "upbraiding conscience," the reference is to the sentiments or feelings which men experience with respect to moral subjects. But this only shows the need of more exact definition if intuitionalism is to be placed on anything like a scientific basis.

Many different definitions of conscience have been given, but

the most eminent expositors of the intuitive theory contend that it is an original faculty or law of the mind, the specific function of which is to receive the intuitions of moral truth. Conscience is distinctly and specifically the faculty of moral intuition. It is by it alone that the distinction between right and wrong is primarily recognised, and the sense of obligation awakened in the mind. It is not, however, to be confounded with the judgment, though the intuitions of conscience pass up into the judgment, where they are utilized and applied. Nor is it to be confounded with feeling, though its monitions awaken and move feeling. It is not to be regarded as a faculty separate from the rest of the mind; but rather as the mind itself when acting intuitively in relation to moral truth. Calderwood says, "It is the reason, as that discovers to us absolute moral truth—having the authority of sovereign moral law." Conscience, then, is to be understood as referring exclusively to that power of moral intuition which exists in the mind; and it must be conceived as distinct, though not separate, from moral judgment and moral sentiment.

Now, when conscience has thus been defined, it is found that there are three radical features which must be regarded as inseparable from it—cognition, authority, and incapacity of being trained. (1) Conscience, being the intuitive faculty, must of course be conceived in its radical nature a *cognitive* power—the power of seeing, of knowing moral truth. This cannot be denied unless the reality of intuition be first denied. It is matter of fact, however, that we have knowledge of moral principles, and the power by which we know them is conscience. Moral truth can be seen, and conscience is the power that sees it. But if conscience were a mere congeries of feelings, affections, and emotions, as some have contended, then this cognitive power could not belong to it. The very name conscience (*con-scientia*) carries with it the idea of cognition—a knowledge that is with us. (2) Again, conscience must be regarded as an *authoritative* power—as having absolute right to supreme control over all voluntary action. We have in our nature many affections, appetites, and blind impulses, which are dependent on intelligence for direction; but intelligence itself is dependent for the right direction of our activities on its own possession of moral law—that is to say, it is dependent on conscience, which brings in on the mind the knowledge of moral law. Since it is the function of conscience to reveal moral law, it becomes naturally invested with the authority of the law it reveals to us. When we speak of the "supremacy of conscience," we mean strictly the supreme authority of moral law over voluntary action, which moral law reveals itself in conscience. We need, however, to distinguish between the authority and the power of conscience. Bishop Butler has placed the authority of conscience

on a sound philosophical basis, but he is careful to mark this distinction, remarking that if conscience had power, as it has unquestionable authority, it would carry all the world onward in a course of undeviating virtue. (3) But, further, conscience *cannot be educated.* The position here taken is a necessary corollary to the foregoing statements. Conscience has been shown to be an intuitive power; if it be such, it cannot be educated. Its function is to perceive the self-evident, and it must by its very nature be incapable of training. Conscience has been shown to have supreme authority; if this be so, it cannot be educated. If we think of conscience as needing instruction, it is because we regard it as wanting in enlightenment and authority. In that case, we must give up the idea of the supremacy of conscience; for to instruct one's conscience would be to place it in a state of pupilage to some other of our faculties. The fact is, that when men speak of instructing conscience they are thinking, not of the intuitive faculty, but of the moral judgment. The intuitive faculty itself may be compared to the seeing power of the eye in respect to the point before us. We know that men speak popularly of educating the eye. But it is not the *seeing power* of the eye that can be educated; it is the interpreting power of the mind that really becomes trained. An eclipse of the sun can be as distinctly seen by the eye of a child as by the eye of a philosopher, but the significance to the one is very different from what it is to the other. And to this same child, in after life, the same phenomenon may have a very different meaning; the difference is not that he sees it with greater distinctness, but with greater intelligence. In this case there has been training going on, but the training has taken effect in the mind, not in the eye. In like manner conscience, or the faculty of moral intuition, must be held to be incapable of training; though, in the sphere of moral judgment, there is room for any amount.

The view of conscience here given is not the view taken by all moralists who hold an intuitive theory. Kant, however, has said that "an erring conscience is a chimera." The position may no doubt be questioned; but we will venture the assertion that it is the only view logically consistent with an intuitive theory of morals.

In opposition to the theory here sketched, the advocates of the utilitarian or development theory seek to make out that all our moral ideas are derived from sensation, and that conscience is only social authority reflected in on the mind, and evoking fear. One philosopher of this school gives the following analysis of conscience: "One-fifth, fear of man; one-fifth, superstition; one-fifth, prejudice; one-fifth, vanity; one-fifth, custom."

The grand difficulty of the intuitive theory is the diversity of

moral judgment among men in the general affairs of life. It must be remembered, however, that all natures recognise a distinction between right and wrong; and there is a pretty general agreement amongst them as to certain main principles of right. Nobody considers truthfulness, justice, benevolence to be wrong. The difficulty arises from the multiform character of human affairs, from the dispositions and passions which impel men to act contrary to conscience, from the puzzling nature of circumstances, and from the tendency of certain predispositions to becloud and bias the judgment. The same thing is true, however, of any scheme of philosophy, or of any system of truth whatever. An honest and careful reference to first principles is always necessary for the avoidance of error. But this requires the constant use of intelligence and judgment. The key to this difficulty in morals must be found: (1) in allowing the primary principles of moral truth their proper ascendancy over the mind; and (2) in a careful use of our reason and judgment in carrying these principles up into practical application in the affairs of life. Here it is where the field lies open for instruction and moral training.

But if, in adopting an intuitive theory of morals, we have to admit the difficulty of finding a rule of life invariably applicable, that difficulty is not at all obviated by adopting the utilitarian theory. It is just as difficult, in practice, to decide what course of conduct tends to promote the general good as what course of conduct is in harmony with the primary intuitions of conscience.

II.—We come now to the second general question—the metaphysical one, which relates to the *ground, or foundation*, of moral obligation. This question relates not to what is subjective, but to what is objective; not to the moral ideas and faculties found in the mind, but to the basis of moral distinction and obligation as it exists external to the mind. The question is, in what does the distinction between right and wrong fundamentally lie? What is the ultimate ground of our feeling of *ought?* The two opposite schools of moralists give each a separate answer to this question. The utilitarian school trace the distinction to the idea of the *greatest amount of happiness.* Certain lines of action, they say, are seen to lead to happiness, while other courses lead to inquiry; that those actions are right which tend to produce happiness, those which tend to misery are wrong. Now, we affirm that this is no true answer at all, but merely an evasion of the real point in question. That certain lines of action lead to happiness we grant; that happiness is a desirable thing, and is a common motive to action, we grant; and it may also be true that right action always leads ultimately to happiness. But the question still remains, what is the ground of rightness in action? To affirm that an action is only right *because* it leads to happiness is to affirm that

the idea of right is derived from the idea of happiness, and is, therefore, not a primary idea. But what is happiness? It is certainly not of the nature of a primary essence. It is merely a quality of experience attendant upon action—a feeling of pleasure accompanying and springing from action; it is a mere effect, and not of the nature of original cause. Now, even if it were allowed that visible tendency to happiness is a criterion of rightness, there must still be some reason *why* certain actions tend to happiness. Where, then, does this reason lie? It is the primary ground we are seeking, and it cannot lie in consequence; it must lie in cause. The ultimate ground of morality, therefore, cannot lie in action, nor in any mere effect of it, but must underlie all action. To our mind the only satisfactory solution is that which finds it in the nature of the great First Cause. Certain Christian writers on this subject who have adopted a utilitarian theory seem to have got confused in reasoning about the Divine purpose and the Divine will. They have taken what they conceived as the benevolence of the Divine purpose for the ultimate ground of moral distinction, which it is not.

But how does this theory account for the feeling of obligation? It fails to account for it. It assumes that the Divine purpose is purely one of benevolence, and that the only aim of God's moral government is the happiness of his creatures. Now, if it were certain —which it is not—that the Divine purpose were exclusively one of benevolence, this might sufficiently account for the tendency of right action to produce happiness; but it would not account for *right* itself, which gives the feeling of *ought*. The reasons which determine the Divine purpose must undoubtedly be right. But on this theory, unless we are certain that these reasons are purely benevolent, we would not be under obligation to obey God. Bishop Butler has shown that we have no philosophical warrant for assuming that the Divine purpose is one of pure, simple, absolute benevolence. The theory, therefore, which places the ground of obligation in the absolute benevolence of the Divine purpose rests it on a doubtful assumption, and consequently fails to find a philosophical ground of moral obligation.

On the other hand, the answer of the intuitive school is, that the ultimate ground of morality must lie in the *essential nature* of God, or the Absolute Being; that we arrive at a knowledge of moral distinctions intuitively, by a law of our reason, called conscience; that the sense of obligation necessarily accompanies the recognition of right; that our reason, though finite, is so related to the absolute reason as to enable its dictates to become, so to speak, injected into our mind; that our moral intuitions are the responses of our individual reason to the mandates of the eternal reason; that no other philosophical solution can be found for the

problem than that the foundation of virtue is in the Divine Nature itself—the absolute perfection of God.

We will not proceed to remark upon this answer, but will merely make two statements:—

1. That the intuitive theory of morals is the one which harmonises best with a Theistic or Christian form of belief. Indeed, it seems to us that this moral theory naturally involves Theistic religion.

2. That the utilitarian theory is the natural ally of scepticism in religion, and sensationalism in philosophy. It seems to be true that certain sceptical thinkers, finding they cannot reason away the fact of our moral nature, have set themselves to construct a theory to account for it without the idea of God. But this attempt has not yet succeeded, and we think must inevitably fail, as it deserves to do.

We shall conclude by giving a fable from Thomas Carlyle:—

"'Gentlemen,' said a conjurer one fine starry evening, 'those heavens are a *deceptio visus*; what you call stars are nothing but fiery motes in the air. Wait a little. I will clear them off and show you how the matter is.' Whereupon the artist produced a long syringe of great force, and, stooping over a neighbouring puddle, filled it with mud and dirty water, which he then squirted with might and main against the zenith. The wiser of the company unfurled their umbrellas; but most part looking up in triumph, cried, 'Down with delusion! It is an age of science! Have we not tallow lights, then?' Here the mud and dirty water fell and bespattered and besplattered these simple persons, and even put out the eyes of several, so that they never saw the stars any more."

Enlightened utilitarian! art thou aware that this patent logic-mill of thine, which grindeth with such a clatter, is but a mill?"

W. G.

Art. IV.—MODERN UTILITARIANISM VIEWED IN RELATION TO SOME QUESTIONS IN PHILOSOPHY AND ETHICS.

In discussing this question it is necessary to define the terms employed. The terms employed in the heading of this paper are of unusually wide application. Philosophy is defined as the love of wisdom, or hidden treasure; and ultimately a search after it. The origin of the word is traced back to Pythagoras, who did not call himself wise, like the wise men of Greece, but a lover of wisdom. This love of wisdom is the ground or cause of the search, and is, therefore, not so much philosophy itself as the spring of it.

If this wisdom be sought in physical things—things seen, handled, weighed, and measured—it is designated physical philosophy. If the enquiry be as to the principles of things, or the nature and seat of this hidden treasure, whether it be in the things themselves, of the same kind with them or different from them, whether it be fixed, constant, unproduced, &c., it is designated metaphysical philosophy. The idea of *difference in things* suggests the possibility of a still further difference between the man himself and the object of his search, which gives rise to the question of mental and moral philosophy. This philosophy concerns the idea of a *pure, free will*, the purity, genuineness, and obligation of the moral law, as also the rightness and purity of the motives, duties, and acts that it commands and enjoins. The bearing of modern utilitarianism on all these questions of philosophy cannot possibly be considered in the brief space of time allowed for the reading of this paper.* We can only briefly glance at it in relation to first principles, to the grounds of our knowledge and action, sensibility and emotion, desire and aversion, pleasure and pain, which stand conspicuous along the whole frontier of right and wrong.

Ethics, taken in the widest signification of the term, includes the whole of moral science and natural jurisprudence, embracing the relations, rights, and duties of man towards God, himself, and his fellow-creatures. This reaches to the moral law, the law of God, the laws of nations or society, public or political law, civil law and history.

Professor Bain defines ethics as a department of practice defined by its end. It is not mere knowledge or speculation, but knowledge applied to practical or useful ends. Martineu defines it as the *morale* which regulates human will and action, the norm or rule by which men spontaneously acquiesce in what must and ought to be. Henry Sidgwick, in his "Method of Ethics," says it is the science of practice or conduct, a science which determines not the actual, but the ideal; what ought to exist, not what does exist.

We are, therefore, to understand by this term the science of ideal humanity; the knowledge of that true and proper standard of perfect action, speech, and thought towards which we are ever bound to aspire; teaching us what we ought to be, how we ought to live, what we ought to do; thus defining the character of "our conversation in the world," the conduct of our inner life, our relationship to our fellow-creatures and to God.

Utilitarianism is a thing with which we think ourselves familiar, and may suppose ourselves clearly to understand; but upon examination of Paley, Bentham, Mill, and Grote, we find it to

*The substance of this paper was read before the Board of Evangelical Nonconformist Ministers in Leicester.

involve several distinct theories. By some modern philosophers and psychologists, utilitarianism, as a doctrine of duty and virtue, is identified with the theory which derives the moral sentiments from the "association of ideas," or from experience of the non-moral pleasures and pains resulting to the agent, or to others, from different kinds of conduct. According to this hypothesis, the moral sentiment is the result of the social forces acting in a certain direction, it being the tendency of those forces under normal conditions, to promote conduct or principles of conduct, denominated *right* or *good*. The evolution theory is supposed to sustain this view, and declares such moral principles as are held to be valid and binding by all civilised men to have been developed or implanted by frequently-repeated experiences and expectations of pleasure and pain. Others tell us that these moral sentiments are independent impulses, and that they claim authority over the more primary desires and aversions from which they are supposed to have sprung, and that this claim is both valid and reasonable whether it conflicts with the utilitarian calculus or not. By modern utilitarianism is now generally understood the theory as formulated by Bentham and accepted by J. S. Mill,—that the conduct which under any given circumstances is externally or objectively right is that which will produce the greatest amount of happiness to all whose interests are affected; or, more precisely, "the conduct which will produce the greatest possible happiness to the greatest possible number." The utilitarian philosophy which derives our conceptions of right and wrong from the association of ideas is founded upon certain false assumptions. There can be no doubt that the associational theory is a great and useful theory, and is of wide range and powerful influence in the region of mental and moral economy. Nearly all our mental energy and change, as also innumerable instances of moral phenomena, are in some way affected by the laws of association. The error in utilitarian philosophy is the exaggeration of a principle, the general truth and importance of which is admitted; but is here pressed into a service it was never intended to serve, and to perform a work wholly beyond its power. Association is a fact itself needing explanation, a process which implies subject, powers, conditions, and constituent elements, and which has no existence at all apart from the things associated; and the mere association of things associated explains nothing. The association of ideas necessarily supposes a mind possessed of ideas and the power of associating them, facts only made manifest by the process of association itself. Associationists err in supposing ideas to have a separate and distinct existence and properties of their own, and supposing them to possess the power of self-combination, as also the necessary conditions under which that power operates, instead

of ascribing them to the associating mind which combines and associates the things. Admit the pre-existing mind and idea, and we see nothing strange or exceptional in certain special associations involving the idea of rightness, which idea may give rise to other associations, and so become a principle of association, transferring thoughts and feelings of right from persons to acts, or acts to persons, or from one act to another, &c.; but what we transfer in these several instances is something already existing in thought, a something or particular condition which explains the transference, instead of the transference explaining or originating the thought.

Another groundless assumption in the philosophy of utilitarianism is the so-called "law of inseparable association," which seeks to account for the origination of moral ideas by a transmutation, through association, of sensuous impressions into moral convictions, an hypothesis altogether devoid of scientific verification. This law of inseparable association is thought to possess the power of indissolubly connecting and binding ideas, ideas that become indissoluble by the process of association. That there are indissolubly associated ideas none will dispute, such as cause and effect, whole and part; but have they *grown* to be such? were they ever in a state of *coming to be*? Did they ever exist apart, or can they be conceived as existing apart? No; they are indissoluble or inseparable. Ideas, however, connected by a process of association are not indissoluble in this sense—they are *con*-joined, and are, therefore, capable of being *dis*-joined; they have existed apart, and can exist apart, or be conceived as existing apart; and till some proof to the contrary is established, this theory, which seeks to resolve conscience into a mere product of sensational elements, must be rejected as a baseless hypothesis.

Another false assumption to be charged upon the philosophy of utilitarianism is that certain states of mind complex in themselves may be made to coalesce, or run into one, and so become to consciousness simple and single, and possessed of other and different characteristics. Thus the late George Grote, in his "Ethical Fragments," says, in explaining the ethical sentiment, "It is a very complicated sentiment, presupposing many trains of ideas and feelings, and deduced from several distinct and even opposing elements of our nature, yet so combined together by habitual association as to affect the mind with the rapidity and simultaneousness of a simple feeling, no separate consciousness of the constituent items remaining." James Mill was thought to have established this theory long ago, and illustrated it by a very ingenious simile, which has been frequently used by writers belonging to this school of philosophy. They tell us that just as the seven prismatic colours painted on the seven parts of a wheel respectively can, by revolving the wheel with sufficient rapidity,

be made to coalesce and produce one uniform colour different from any or all of them, so our sensations of pleasure and pain can be so transformed into something quite unlike themselves, which something may become to us a rule of action, a law of conduct, a standard of morality. With this is allied another equally groundless assumption, "that a mere difference in degree may become in psychology a real difference in kind." We believe it to be a generally admitted fact that the *right* always presents itself to the human consciousness as something markedly and intrinsically different from the *pleasant* or the expedient, the *wrong* as something altogether unlike the *painful* and the inexpedient. Moreover, we believe the cognition of right and wrong, and the feeling of good or ill desert, are not and cannot be confounded by any mind which possesses them with any other cognition or feeling. So hardly has this fact pressed upon utilitarians themselves that they have been obliged to notice it. They tell us that our lower experiences, like those of pleasure and pain, expediency and inexdiency, may, owing to certain causes in certain cases, undergo a process of entire transmutation through association, and acquire the characteristics which distinguish the moral sense from every other principle of human nature; and that, if associationism should fail to present the requisite proof of this, evolution will supply the lack, only it must be with this important difference—that while associationism supposes the transmutation to take place in a single lifetime, evolution requires countless generations and races of beings for the accomplishment of the task. But evolutionism cannot supply the least proof that moral intuitions have been developed out of experiences of utility organised and consolidated through a long series of animal and human generations; facts are altogether opposed to the theory. The theory is this:—Moral sentiments are impulses that tend to the maintenance of society; hence, a tribe in which they are accidentally developed would tend to be victorious over other tribes in the struggle for existence, and thus moral sentiments would come to be a part of the essential characteristics of that tribe, and ultimately of humanity, and that it is in this way the moral sentiment has been generated and perpetuated. Utilitarianism has supplemented evolutionism thus:—"Men are stimulated to actions and abstinences in proportion as they find these in the long run pleasurable and their opposites painful; therefore, tribes whose members derive the greatest balance of pleasure over pain from actions and modes of existence conducive to the preservation of the tribe will have a decided advantage in the struggle for existence, and, therefore, the societies that in the long run survive will be so constituted that the maximum happiness of their members will be attained by conduct tending to the preservation of society." Who does not see that

this double harmony between pleasant and preservative conduct, and between individual and universal well-being, is altogether ideal and future; that it neither represents the present nor the past experiences of the human race, while the chances are very much against the accidental development of both the sentiment and the individual necessary to the preservation of the tribe and the type to be perpetuated. Herbert Spencer, the modern apostle of evolutionism in this country, detected the weak place in the system, and has sought to buttress it thus:—He tells us "that experienced pleasures and pains produce secondary likings and aversions for pleasure-causing and pain-causing conduct, which, from being habitual, become organic, and so capable of being transmitted to posterity; and that, through the interdependence of interests that results from gregariousness, and the interchange of customs that results from sympathy, it is the common experience of all that particularly operates in producing these derivative sentiments and habits, so that they ultimately appear as instincts tending to promote the interests of the community." Valuable and necessary as this buttress may be to the Darwinian and utilitarian hypotheses, and plausible as it may be as an explanation of the development of morality in a race of animals gregarious, sympathetic, and semi-rational, it gives no adequate account of the origin of the moral sense by evolution. What intelligence is to the intellect the moral sense is to morality—they both are simple and fundamental, and incapable of being resolved into anything lower or simpler than themselves. They are distinct, original, and not derivative endowments; and no multiplication of similitudes in the faculties of the lower animals, or growth of complex organisms in the higher, can abolish their originality and distinctness. This is clearly set forth by Alfred Russel Wallace in his "Contributions to Natural Selection." "Turning to the mind of man," he says, "we find many difficulties in attempting to understand how these mental faculties, which are especially human, could have been acquired by the preservation of useful variation. At first sight it would seem that such feelings as those of absolute justice and benevolence could never have been so acquired, because they are incompatible with the law of the strongest. So all those faculties which are purely intellectual, by which we form ideal conceptions and absolute notions, how could all or any of these be thus developed when they could have been of no possible use to man in his early stage of savage barbarism? Exactly the same difficulty arises when we seek to account for the development of the moral sense or conscience in the savage man; for although the practices of benevolence, honesty, and truth may have been useful to the tribes possessing them, that does not account for the peculiar sanctity attached to actions which tribes consider right

and moral as contrasted with the feelings with which they regard what is merely useful or pleasurable. The utilitarian hypothesis is altogether inadequate to account for the development of the moral sense. The sanction it gives for truthfulness is by no means very powerful or universal; few cases enforce it; no very sure reprobation follows untruthfulness. In all ages and countries falsehood has been thought allowable in love, and laudable in war; while at the present day it is held to be venial in politics, trade, commerce, and speculation. How, then, in such difficulties and amid so many exceptions to its practice, can we believe that considerations of utility could ever invest it with the mysterious sanctity of the highest nature, or induce men to value truth for its own sake and practise it regardless of consequences? It is difficult to conceive that such intense and mystical feeling of right and wrong—so intense as to overcome all ideas of personal advantage and utility—could have been developed out of accumulated ancestral experiences of utility; and still more difficult to understand how feelings developed by one set of utilities could be transferred to acts of which the utility was partial, imaginary, or altogether absent." If the development theory were correct, we might reasonably suppose that the experience of savage men respecting truthfulness, or any other moral action, would be pretty nearly equal; yet with some there is an overwhelming fidelity to it, with others little or no regard at all. How is it that in some cases the result should be a sanctity which overrides all considerations of personal advantage, and in others hardly the rudiment of such a feeling? Admit the theory that there is in man a moral sense, as an essential part of his nature, a sense of right and wrong antecedent to and independent of the experiences of utility, and the difference is accounted for; deny it, and no satisfactory explanation can be given. Admit this moral sense, and the right can be accounted for; while it is easy to see that its sanction may be given to acts which are useless or immoral, just as the natural appetite for drink is perverted by the drunkard into the means of his own destruction. Yet these seducing appetites and passions never gain our undivided ear; while we bend to them there are pleading voices which distract us, and which, if they do not save us, follow us with an expostulating shame. So, when we wake up and kindle at the appeal of misery and the cry of wrong, or glow with the spontaneous fire of disinterested affection or devotion to the true and the good, we feel it to be a Divine claim upon us; we know their right over us, and recognise their look of authority upon us, and are aware that to live under them is our supreme obligation, and that for us nothing short of this is either right or good, true or holy. Thus the inner life of conscience and ideal aspiration supplies the elements and sphere of morality and religion, and the

discovery of right and duty is as distinctly relative to an objective righteousness as is the perception of form to an external space; and both moral fear and moral love stand before the face of an Authority which is the eternal reality of the holy and the good, the divine, and just, and true. "And let this be accepted," says Dr. Martineau, "and it matters little ethically as to what theory is adopted respecting their mode of origin within us. Whether you regard them as the intuitive data of the understanding, or the transformation of sensible interests into a disinterested glory, or even as the latest refinement of animal instinct and discipline after percolating through uncounted generations," it matters little so long as we accept the aspirations as evidence of our obligation to an objective righteousness and authority, or as counterparts of a holy and supreme personality. John Stuart Mill himself felt the force of this, for while seeking to resolve the moral sentiment into simple pleasure and pain, and moral obligation into a balance of happiness, he yet nobly resolved that he would rather plunge into eternal anguish than falsely bend before an unrighteous power. The error of evolutionists is their persistent attempts to establish the process of atomic development as a substitute for God himself, and not his method of working; to reduce our ideal aspirations after goodness, holiness, and truth, &c., into mere unaccredited, subjective susceptibilities which can have no support from omniscient approval, and no presumable accordance with the reality of things. "They are," we are told, "but the capitalised experiences of utility and social coercion, the record of ancestral fears and satisfactions stored in the brain, and reappearing with divine pretensions only because their animal origin is forgotten;" or, at very best, they are but the newest advantage won by gregarious creatures in the struggle for existence. Here evolutionism is opposed to all true morality and religion, while it involves evolutionists themselves in an inevitable contradiction between their scientific hypothesis and the ideal aspirations and characteristics of their own heart and conscience.

Compassion, in its twofold aspect of repugnance and suffering, and its effort to remedy it, and which is so universal as to be regarded as a common principle of human nature, "is an evident provision for a world of *hopeful sorrow*." It is distinctly relative to pain, and would be out of place in a scene laid out for happiness alone. How can this principle in human nature be made to harmonise with the theory of evolution, or to agree with the law of natural selection and the survival of the fittest? In the struggle for existence nature is pitiless and crushing, utterly devoid of everything like compassion. She throws away her injured and broken vessels with no compunction or pity whatever. Everywhere the weak and sickly, the maimed and wounded, the

halt and blind are despatched without pity or remorse, and only those are spared which are able to do for themselves. The stricken deer turns aside to die, while the fat herd sweeps on indifferent to its fate; the pack of lean wolves know of no surgery for a fainting comrade, except to fall on him and rend him in pieces; the frail bird that cannot fly with the rest of the brood is tumbled from the nest and left to its fate. Sickness, disease, feebleness, and age meet with no compassion in the struggle for existence in the world of nature around us; but on coming to the province of man and the region of morality, we meet with a law which at once breaks in upon this and controls and modifies it. The struggle for existence still goes on, but it is no longer supreme and all in all. Everywhere it is modified by ideas that are confessedly of greater moment and higher authority. Sometimes it is set aside altogether; for we are not always bound to exist if we can, but we are always bound to do the right. Thus the moral rises above the natural, and even flatly contradicts it. The struggle for existence is subordinate to the struggle for a higher perfection. Instead of the survival of the fittest, we have a law requiring the strong to help the weak, the healthy to improve their health for the sake of the diseased, and even those who are hopelessly stricken and for ever invalided from the battle of life are cast on us as a peculiar care, to neglect which were to outrage the noblest instincts of humanity. The natural law everywhere else in full swing, that the weak and sickly, the halt and blind, must be left to their fate or hurried out of the way, not only does not hold among us, but is even reversed by virtue of the moral principle within us. Thus the scientific hypothesis and the inner nature of the scientist himself are at hapless variance the one with the other. The principle of self-forgetfulness and self-sacrifice in love for others, which occupies a somewhat prominent place in the theory of modern utilitarianism, is also incompatible with the principle of evolution and natural selection. Here the prevailing rule is self-assertion, self-preservation; the all-determining law is relentless competition for superior advantage. This principle of self-preservation cannot by any conceivable process develop into that of self-sacrifice. Nature has no voluntary cross-bearing, no self-denying benevolence. The maternal instinct in animals has its manifestations of pathetic endurance; but it is not pity, nor charity, nor anything akin to them. The compassion that waits on sickness and pines through long night-watches for those who are no longer able for the struggle of life has not the faintest shadow of a representative outside of the human family. The morality of self-sacrifice is not the morality of nature, whose chief concern is simply to perpetuate itself; the whole higher life of man—all those virtues of compassion, gentleness, mercy, which we justly call humanity,

because he who has them not is unworthy of the name of man, are all alien and opposite to the mere law of nature, and could not possibly grow out of it. Here, again, the scientific hypothesis is opposed to the inner nature of the individual—the law without and the law within are at hopeless variance with one another; without is the irresistible fact of selfish scramble, within is the irresistible faith of unselfish abnegation. So with all those great moral principles of benevolence, justice, honour, courage, &c., which are something higher than mere animal instincts, something more than mere natural good, and have a higher origin than the mere wish of humanity; they are the gift of God. We further assert that, if human consciousness is nothing more than "a mere poetic thrill of the ganglia," and the soul the "mere rhythm of an organised body," and our morality only a well-tuned music made by nerve and brain, "it must naturally follow that when the face blanches and every nerve thrills with anguish, when sense and sight almost refuse their functions, when the brain itself sickens and whirls under the torture, and from sympathy with another's torments, *then*, surely, kinship and birth would assert their ties, the body would *modulate its rhythm*," and the soul yield its high dignity and authority to the body's care, and so invest the moral law and rescue the torn flesh and the imprisoned frame from the rack and the dungeon. Are these things so? Witness the case of Christian martyrs, and the sufferings of Christians generally in all ages of the Church to the contrary, whence the supremacy of conscience and moral truth have been most lavishly tested by all kinds of suffering, imprisonment, torture, and death. "The same yielding of soul to body must necessarily ensue with equal certainty in all or any of the following cases, which have been maintained by sophisticated logic, provided, that is, all or any of them *could* be held true:—If right or wrong were mere modifications of pleasure and pain, or our sense of duty were simply a transformed sense of earthly interest; if, furthermore, we could know nothing of a good higher than gross corporeal good; if truth and morality had no elevation, no superiority when compared with sensual enjoyment, or with circumstances easy and useful to the sons of men. Were any of these proportions true," says the author of the 'Doctrine of Retribution,' "the soul could never command the body to suffer. Each sufferer's counsel to his best beloved would be: 'Be it far from thee; this shall not be done to thee;' a voice which, though heard in the person of Simon Peter, Christ pronounced to be the voice of Satan. But let these propositions be esteemed false, and, contrariwise, we hear duty speaking a peculiar language far, very far, different from the accents of physical pleasure or pain, or of expediency and utility, and that voice of duty is found to be the distinctive and peculiar language of humanity."

The development theory having sought to rise from sensation to intelligence, and from thence to a knowledge of moral distinctions, undertakes further to distinguish between right and wrong in action by a reference to *consequences*, excluding all regard to the motives of the agent as a superfluous element. Virtue is declared to be a good only on account of the pleasures which result from it; vice an evil only because of the pains which it produces. "Moral good is *good* only by its tendency to produce physical good; moral evil is *evil* only by its tendency to produce physical evil." "Actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness." Here are several important defects in utilitarianism as a system of morality. First of all, morality is placed in the outward acts, and exiled from its proper home—the judgments of the mind, the habits, desires, emotions, and tempers of the heart. It becomes a purely external and physical thing. Secondly, by excluding all regard to the motives of the agent as a superfluous element, acts are thereby reduced to merely physical changes, attended only with physical consequences; they are morally indifferent, and can have no moral consequences or results whatever. It is the motive or feeling of the agent which gives to the act its moral colouring and renders it the fit object of approval or blame. This is the element which gives to the act its moral character, and out of which innumerable moral consequences may be expected to flow; and any system of morality that excludes all reference to the motives and feelings of the agent must be considered essentially immoral. Thirdly, by making consequences the ultimate standard of right and wrong in actions as a system of morality, it fails to supply any sure, safe, or authoritative rule of life, or to give any adequate idea of the nature and force of obligation. And the wonder is that, seeing and acknowledging this, utilitarians should still have held by the doctrine and tried to defend it by the introduction of principles and language incompatible with it. Fourthly, utilitarianism, as a system of morality, fails to furnish us with any adequate classification of moral actions. In making the production of happiness the test of right actions, and the production of pain the test of wrong actions, moral distinctions are hopelessly confused and lost, and gluttonous, drunken, and immoral men may gain a reputation for goodness. That pleasurable and painful feelings are experienced by us is a matter of fact; that pleasure, as agreeable to our nature, is a common object of desire, and pain, as disagreeable, is a common object of dislike, are facts equally clear; that pleasure may be described as good, and so to be preferred, and suffering as evil, and something to be avoided, is equally obvious, but no additional meaning or moral quality is thereby conveyed, as good and evil—the preferable and the avoidable—are the same as the

agreeable and disagreeable, which after all is something different from the morally right and the morally wrong. All agreeable actions, or actions producing happiness, cannot be regarded as moral actions. Dinner-eating, horse-racing, following the chase, hearing music, studying a fine picture, making scientific experiments, truth-speaking, acts of benevolence, heroism, and charity, are not regarded as actions alike morally right, though they are confessedly pleasurable. "All morally right actions are agreeable actions, but all agreeable actions are not moral actions. Happiness is thus wider than morality. By selecting too general a characteristic the moral quality of actions has been missed." So with utility proper. Some limit must be assigned to the principle, for it is obvious that we do not make everything a moral rule that we consider useful. And if only some utility constitutes morality, utility itself is not the test. So with actions producing pain, it is evident that all pains-causing actions are not necessarily wrong actions. "To scratch your fingers on a thorn-bush, to undergo a surgical operation, to submit to the humiliation of confessing that you have done wrong, and to refuse help to a friend in suffering, are all painful actions; but they are not, on that account, wrong actions. In all these cases the end of the action is something else than the pain experienced. The pain is only a consequent or attendant upon the action, and not an end at all." Moreover, instances occur in which pain is endured as a means to happiness, viz.: when a surgical operation is endured for the sake of health, the weariness and fatigue of study for the sake of knowledge, and the pain of self-denial for the sake of moral improvement, the many instances in which pains and restraints are endured and heavy expenses incurred, in order that life and happiness may be secured. The undeniable fact that the painful may lead to the pleasurable is proof that pleasure and pain are not by their own nature ends in themselves, but simply attendants on personal action. Of contraries the one cannot produce the other. The production of happiness is a tendency or consequence, rather than a principle or cause of right action. Right actions may produce good or beneficial effects, but they are not right because they produce these effects. They are right because they have a right nature; and they have a right nature because they are done from a regard to the will of God, and because they promote his glory and the good of mankind. The difference between virtue and vice lies not in the tendency of the one to produce happiness, and of the other to produce misery; but the production of happiness by the one, and of misery by the other, is the consequence of the moral difference in their nature. It is rectitude, or the want of rectitude, that determines the tendency or result of an action, and not its tendency or result which gives its nature or character to an

action. "An action is not right because it is productive of happiness, but it is productive of happiness because it is right. Utility is not a *cause*, but a *consequence* of rectitude; it is not the *constituent*, but it may be the *indication* of rectitude; it does not *make* an action to be right, but it may *mark* it to be so; it is not the *ratio essendi*, but it may be the *ratio cognoscendi*." An action has a nature or character belonging to it; there is something true of it in itself. This nature or character may be indicated or made plain, but it is not conferred by the consequences of the action; it belongs to it as an action originally and inherently.

In the utilitarian calculus the ultimate end of action is defined as "the greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number." By the "greatest possible happiness" we are to understand the greatest possible surplus of pleasure over pain, the pain being conceived as balanced against an equal amount of pleasure, so that the two mutually annihilate each other for purposes of ethical calculation. It is here assumed that all pleasures are capable of being compared quantatively, positive or negative, in respect of preferableness or desirableness, and that the quantity may be known, so that each may be weighed in ideal scales against each other. By "the greatest possible number" utilitarians have generally included in their theory all beings capable of pleasure and pain where feelings are affected by our conduct, it being considered arbitrary and unreasonable on utilitarian principles, which aims at universal pleasure and happiness, to exclude from the end, as so conceived, any pleasure of any sentient being. But this extension considerably increases the scientific difficulties of the hedonistic comparison; for, difficult as it may be to compare the pleasures and pains of other men accurately with our own, a comparison of either with the pleasures and pains of the inferior animals is obviously a still greater difficulty. Practically, utilitarians have always concerned themselves almost entirely with *human* happiness, assuming the comparative inferiority of the pleasure of other sentient beings. In this theory pleasures and pains enter as the data in a problem of calculation—counters in a vast sum of addition to be summed into one grand total; and the character of this total, as the pleasures or pains are in excess, and in excess to a greater or less amount, decides the question of right and wrong, moral good and evil. Here, again, are insuperable difficulties in the way of utilitarianism as a practical or scientific system of morality. Viewed on the side of science, the calculation has already been declared impossible. The calculation requires the summation of an infinite series; and the series is one of which the laws, as borrowed from experience only, are so immensely complex that we cannot be sure even of a rude approach to its total value by attempting to add together a few of its nearest terms. And

the infinity is not of a single, but of a double and triple kind. "We have to trace out the result of the proposed action," says Professor Birks, "not of a few hours or days only, but through a whole lifetime, or to distant generations, and throughout the life to come. We have to sum them up by the theory, not with regard to ourselves alone, but to the whole family of mankind, and even to the countless numbers of generations still unborn. We must further trace them in connection with the immense variety of possible pains and pleasures, and their degrees of intensity." The summation required is also one of quantities "wholly incommensurable." In each class a wide chasm of unlikeness or infinitude separates the proposed elements from each other. Pleasures, it is said, differ in quality as well as quantity; by which admission, it must be confessed, the problem is either owned to be impracticable or else completely changes its form. "Incommensurables are of two classes. The first is of things of the same kind, when the ratio cannot be given with scientific exactness, but we can approach to it sufficiently near to make a practical solution possible; the other case is of things incommensurable in kind, as of lines and surfaces, or surfaces and solids. Here summation is strictly inconceivable; the gulf cannot be passed, and the only summation possible is by leaving the less important out of the calculation altogether. Now, if the animal pleasures of sense, shared in by the inferior orders of creation, are owned to be distinct in quality from those of reason, thought, and intelligence, which are proper to men, the same principle clearly applies. Again, if the pleasures of lust, of selfish ambition, and of malevolent ambition are distinct in kind from those of justice, piety, and benevolence, here also a process of mere summation is impossible, and the attempt delusive." The pleasures and joys of a pure conscience are higher and holier than those of mere intellect, where no directly moral element appears; and these, in their turn, are nobler than mere animal pleasures. Hence the impossibility of a simple summation until the elements in the problem have been brought into equilibrium, and made of strictly equal value, in which case the lower and less important must be dropped from the calculation altogether. The summation is also "one of indeterminates." Our calculation is to be of the supposed results of each act, as it will affect the experience of ten thousand thousand moral agents or sentient beings. And first we have to assume, in each instance, that they also calculate a like problem in each successive act, or else that they are guided by impulse, habit, or some lower motive without calculation. In the former case the problem is clearly insoluble, and the mere attempt to resolve it a childish folly. Each of a thousand unknown quantities is to be determined by first assuming all the others to be already known.

In the latter the difficulties are still greatly increased. Other objections of so formidable a kind are urged, which, if admitted, must lead to an absolute rejection of the theory as intrinsically useless for the attainment of the end proposed. It is urged (1) that the comparison of pleasures in respect to their intensity, duration, certainty, proximity, &c., as empirically ascertained, is liable to such numerous and fundamental errors that its results are altogether untrustworthy; (2) that the habit of mind which results from the continual recourse to the comparison is itself unfavourable to the attainment of the greatest possible pleasure. From what has been already said, it is evident that the comparison as naturally made must be both occasional and rough, and can never be extended as scientific hedonism seems to require, nor applied with any degree of accuracy to all possible states; it is, moreover, liable to an illusion, of which we can never measure the precise amount, while we are continually forced to recognise its existence. So the manner in which the comparison is ordinarily performed seems to furnish positive grounds for mistrusting it. "In estimating for practical purposes the value of different pleasures open to us," says H. Sidgwick, "we commonly trust most to our prospective imagination; we project ourselves into the future, and imagine what a particular pleasure will amount to under hypothetical circumstances. This imagination seems to be chiefly determined by our experience of past pleasures, the effect of which usually operates unconsciously, though sometimes particular instances of important pleasures occur to us as definitely remembered; but partly, also, by the state of our mind or nerves at the time, as we are almost always more susceptible to some pleasures than others, and these then appear greater; partly, too, we are influenced by the experience of others sympathetically appropriated; and here, again, we sometimes definitely refer to particular experiences which have been communicated to us by individuals, and sometimes to the traditional generalisations which are thought to represent the common experience of mankind." Such a process is ever likely to be fraught with error from beginning to end. In fact, there is scarcely any point upon which moralisers have dwelt with more emphasis than this—that man's forecast of pleasure is continually erroneous. Each of us frequently recognises his own mistakes, and each still more often attributes to others errors unseen by themselves, arising either from misinterpretation of their own experience or from ignorance or neglect of that of others. We are required to estimate accurately our own past and present experience of pleasures and pains, rightly to appropriate the past and present experience of others, and then rightly to choose and act so as to produce the greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number; and the question is, whether we are capable of

making such estimations and comparisons as can ever be altogether trustworthy, or take rank as scientific observations. Our own experience is that the comparative judgments we pass are by no means clear and definite when we compare feelings of the same kind, and the vagueness and uncertainty increase in proportion as the feelings differ in kind. We have the utmost difficulty as regards our sensual gratifications in saying whether this food or that, this drink or that, yields the greatest pleasure; so with our bodily and intellectual exercises, as also in our emotional pleasures, it is only when the differences are strikingly great that the hedonistic comparison yields any definite result. But when we try to arrange in a scale pleasures differing in kind—to compare, *e.g.*, labour with rest, excitement with tranquility, intellectual exercise with emotional effusion, the pleasure of scientific apprehension with that of beneficent action, the delight of social expansion with the delight of æsthetic reception—the judgment wavers and fluctuates more and more, and it is but rarely that we can give any confident decision. But our comparative judgments are as inconstant and inconsistent as they are confused and indefinite. We not only differ from each other in our comparative value of pleasures and pains according to our different tastes and dispositions, but we also vary in our individual judgment at different times and in different circumstances, which variation is a legitimate ground for distrusting the validity of any particular comparison. This variation is to be attributed to our different states of mind and health, to changes in our mental and bodily condition, to various degrees of satiety and desire, and the degree of culture, enthusiasm, and feeling requisite to the enjoyment of certain pleasures. But again, "if pleasure only exists as it is felt," if it be a mere state or condition of the mind, it is hard to see how the *degree* of any pleasure can be proved to have any real existence. "For pleasure only has degree as compared with others, but it cannot be actually felt along with these others; the comparison can only be made in imagination, and this can only yield the hypothetical result that if they could be felt together one would be found greater than the other." This is very clearly put by H. Sidgwick in his "Methods of Ethics," where he suggests the following queries for consideration:—"What ground have we for believing this imaginative comparison accurate? Is the mind ever in such a state as to be a perfectly neutral and colourless medium for imagining all kinds of pleasures? The existence of such a neutral mood is obviously incapable of proof; but can we say that experience, impartially examined, leaves it even a probable assumption? It certainly shows us the frequent occurrence of moods in which we have an apparent bias for or against a particular kind of feeling. Is it not probable that there is always

some bias of this kind—that we are always more in tune for some pleasures, more sensible to some pains, than we are to others? If so, may it not be said that this supposed scale of pleasures—which at first sight seemed so clear and familiar a notion that it would be extreme scepticism to doubt its validity—turns out to be strictly incognizable; in fact, a mere philosophical chimera?" The objection to the utilitarian calculus based upon the fact "that the habit of mind resulting from the continual practice of hedonistic comparison is unfavourable to the attainment of the hedonistic end," is urged on the following grounds:—First, it is incompatible with any high degree of pleasure generally arising from the frequent adoption of the introspective attitude of thought. It is a principle of the Hamiltonian philosophy that knowledge and feeling, cognition and pleasure or pain, are always in a certain inverse proportion to each other. This principle is in harmony with our experience; for consciousness, in so far as it is purely cognitive, is neither pleasurable nor painful, and the more consciousness is occupied with the one element the less room there would seem to be for the other. It is a fact of common experience that any very powerful feeling, reaching to the full intensity of which our consciousness is normally capable, is commonly diminished by a contemporaneous stroke of cognitive effort, and, indeed, it has often been noticed as a difficulty in the way of exact observation of our emotions that the object cognized seems to shrink and dwindle in proportion as the cognitive regard grows keen and eager; also, the higher the degree of pleasure the shorter is its continuance, and during its continuance the more completely does it constitute the whole mental state, engrossing the whole disposable consciousness of the mind. Therefore, the maximum of intensity if the minimum of continuance, extension, and comparison. Secondly, it is declared incompatible with certain kinds of elevated and refined pleasures, arising from the predominance of self-love over all other impulses, which is thought to be incompatible with the greatest possible happiness. That self-love, or the impulse towards our own pleasure as the chief end of action, is incompatible with the highest degree either of pleasure generally, or of certain kinds of pleasure, is clearly taught by Butler, Hutcheson, Lecky, and others. These moralists are careful to distinguish between the impulses that are directed towards pleasure and the objective, extra-regarding impulses which do not aim at pleasure. These two kinds of impulses are shown to be so far incompatible that they do not easily co-exist in the same moment of consciousness, while the existence of pleasure is made mainly to depend upon the gratification of our objective, extra-regarding impulses. Throughout the whole scale of our impulses, sensual, emotional, and intellectual, we can distinguish the

primary, extra-regarding desire directed towards some end other than our own feelings, from the scondary reflective, self-regarding impulse towards the pleasure which attends the fulfilment of the former. The question here seems to be, how far the adoption of the utilitarian calculus, and the consequent setting of the will habitually to aim at pleasure as the ultimate desirable end, is compatible with a healthy and vigorous outflow of those impulses towards external objects and particular activities, the pre-existence of which seems necessary to the attainment of most of our pleasures. There can be no doubt that the danger thus indicated is far from imaginary, that the concentration of the mind upon pleasure as an object of pursuit tends to diminish the fulness and flavour of the pleasures actually experienced; hence the tendency of the utilitarian calculus is to defeat its own end.

To bring this examination to a close, we say, by way of summing up, that while, in our judgment, no system of morality can be satisfactory that excludes all consideration of the consequences of actions; or that considers actions to be morally good or evil, right or wrong, apart from the ends and aims conceived and intended by the actor; and that, as a whole, right actions will be productive of good and happiness, and wrong actions will be productive of evil and suffering; yet these things in themselves do not and cannot constitute the true idea and standard of morality. The calculation of consequences as the true foundation of morality and the test of right conduct is an impossibility. It is capricious and uncertain in the elements on which it depends, degrading and immoral in the form as usually proposed. The calculation, to gain any sure footing and to be made of any subordinate or secondary use, must be guided by moral laws and restrained by moral limitations. The pleasures arising from human vice and folly, from a diseased imagination, from corrupt and malevolent passion, from gross and sensuous indulgence, &c., must be laid aside; it must be considered wrong to calculate and plan for the increase of such pleasures in others as are considered criminal in ourselves. It must also be considered as foolish and wrong to be calculating possible and most remote results when prompt and speedy action is the plain requirement of duty. The system fails to supply any adequate account of conscience or moral ideas in general, any sure and authoritative rule of conduct, any efficient and proper motives to virtuous action, any scientific basis for moral obligation, or any sufficient data on which to enforce the principles of justice, veracity and good faith, purity, benevolence, and morality in general; and, therefore, as a philosophy of morals, must be confessed a complete failure. A system "which nowhere recognises the existence of conscience, or regards self-culture as a duty, or men as capable of aiming at moral perfection; which treats existing dogmas in

religion with habitual neglect, and religion itself as a variable product of opinion, a supplement to law, and an aid to police; which is so cold and heartless that it never offers a glimpse of lofty and heroic inspiration, so earthly that it leaves wholly out of sight the precepts and promises of the Gospel, man's immortality, the doctrine of a coming judgment, and the hopes of the life to come," which, in the words of Carlyle, "simply endeavours by some private logic-mill and earthly mechanism of its own to grind out virtue from the husks of pleasure, can never hope to gain a high place among the systems of morality in our midst, or to win the approval of the best and wisest of the race." R. B.

ART. V.—CHARLES G. FINNEY.

BY THE REV. THOMAS CROMPTON, CANADA.

(Continued from page 201).

IMMEDIATELY on his conversion—the very next following day—Mr. Finney commenced the work of his after life, viz., labouring for the salvation of his fellow men. A deep impression had fastened on his mind that God wanted him to preach the Gospel. He says, "I did somehow know it for a certainty that the Lord had commissioned me to preach the Gospel." Prior to his conversion the thought had been in his mind that, if ever he was converted, he should have to leave his profession, of which he had become very fond, and go and preach the Gospel. Though he had taken great pains and spent much time in studying law, and prospectively calculated on making the profession of it the business of his life, yet now, under the abundant baptisms of the Holy Spirit with which he had been blessed, he found himself unwilling to do anything else than preach the Gospel. He had now no desire to practise law, no disposition for making money, no wish for worldly amusements or pleasures. Nothing in his estimation could be put in comparison with the worth of souls; and under this impression he sallied forth to converse with all he met with respecting their soul's salvation. He spoke to the master lawyer at whose office he was a student and an assistant relative to *his* salvation; and the few words spoken were as an arrow to his heart, which ended in his conversion. On the same day he called at the house of a neighbour, where was a young man of his acquaintance who possessed considerable energy, and was an outspoken Universalist. He was invited to take tea with the family and company, to which he assented; and when tea was on the table Mr. Finney was requested to ask a blessing, for they had heard of his conversion. He had

never performed such an act before, but at once rose and began to speak, which he had no sooner done than the state of the young people present so excited his compassion that he commenced weeping, and was unable to proceed. All at table sat speechless for a short time. Directly the young man rushed out of the room and fled to his own room, where he locked himself up, and was not seen any more till the following morning, when he expressed hope in Christ.

On the evening of the same day Mr. Finney went to the monthly prayer meeting, where all the principal people of the village were present. His conversion was known by all around, and it appears expectation ran high respecting something, for the place of meeting was packed. Without waiting for any formal introduction, young Finney rose to speak, and told the crowd that "he knew religion was from God," and related parts of his experience, which produced a wonderful effect. The minister requested him to pray during the meeting. He did so with liberty and enlargement, being greatly under the Holy Spirit's influence. It was a meeting of deep religious impression. After this a meeting was held every night for a long time. The work of God broke out and spread far and wide to surrounding neighbourhoods. Mr. Finney, being somewhat of a musician, had long been the leader of the singing among the young people. He now appointed a meeting for them, and gave his time and labour for their conversion. God gave his blessing to the effort, and they were all brought to the Saviour rapidly except one. A few words spoken by him to individuals were as arrows from God, and a revival of religion spread in every direction. The man was evidently endued with "power from on high," so that not only his words, but his looks and whole manner, in some instances, smote the hearts of unsaved men and women.

He soon visited his parents. On approaching the house his father met him and said, "How do you do, Charles?" "I am well, body and soul," was the reply;" "but, father, you are an old man, all your children have grown up and left your house, and I never heard a prayer in my father's house." The father answered, "I know it, Charles; come in and pray yourself." They prayed together, and in a short time after his parents were brought to Christ. He remained a little while with them and their neighbours, and the work of God broke out in that community also; and it soon spread from Adams, the place of Finney's conversion, to surrounding towns almost through the whole county.

No sooner had Mr. Finney saved himself than he gave ample proof that "the mind was in him which was in Christ" touching the salvation of men. He at once, on becoming a Christian, entered on the life which should be; indeed, the grand end of

Christian life as respects this world—the extension of Christ's kingdom and the gathering into it the unsaved of our race. Mr. Finney was obviously after the order of apostolic times. The early disciples went everywhere preaching the word, the Lord working with them, and signs following. Andrew said to Simon, "We have found the Messias;" and "he brought him to Jesus." He told Simon with all the rapt earnestness of eager joy about his new discovery and young conviction. It was a grand announcement to an Hebrew mind—the long expected Messias had come. But Andrew did not merely make the announcement of the Messias, but brought him (Peter) to Jesus. And what a magnificent destiny awaited the rude fisherman after he had been brought to Christ! From the day of a man's conversion he is called to proclaim the common salvation. How sad the thought of saved souls not telling others of pardon from God, and of the medium through which it is obtained. Mr. Finney did not wait weeks, months, and years to be officially appointed as a minister of Jesus, ere he proclaimed to men who had been his fellow companions in condemnation the good news—that the same blessing of pardon and salvation which had come to him was for them; but like the great convert at Damascus, Saul, who, after Ananias had been sent to him that he might receive his sight and be *filled with the Holy Ghost*, "straightway preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God, and the very Christ," so Mr. Finney, *filled with the Holy Ghost*, and truly a convert of apostolic order, went at once on the apostolic errand of preaching the Gospel to every creature within reach. And truly it may be said God's hand, too, was with *him* from the first, and signs followed. These early successes which attended his labours for the conversion of sinners were preludes of what occurred in future years of his history, when God honoured him in such a signal manner wherever he went.

He, while a young Christian, spent long intervals in fasting and prayer. His prayers at times were literally unceasing; and he ascertained by experience that the degree of his fasting had been too much for his health and strength. These seasons of communion with God were often such that he says they could not be described in words. At this time and stage of his Christian life he learnt many important lessons relative to the spirit of prayer, and one was, "the secret of the Lord is with them" that hold deep communion with Him. One instance of this nature we will give, as to the "Secret of the Lord" and "Travail of Soul." A woman at whose house he had previously boarded, and who was not a Christian, was so ill that her husband came to Mr. Finney and said, "My wife cannot live through the night." The case of this lady friend became immediately a crushing burden on Mr. Finney's mind, which to him was most mysterious. He could not under-

stand the nature and reason of such a state of mind. He went from his office to the meeting-house to disburden himself in prayer for this woman; but he could do little else than utter deep groanings and struggle under his unaccountable burden. He left the meeting-house, but could not rest, and went through a similar process of struggling because of the burden that was upon him; and for three times he went to the meeting-house to pray, with the weight of this woman's case on his mind. He went through three special seasons of wrestling prayer, and on the third time had power to prevail, and obtained assurance that the woman would not die in that affliction, and would be saved. On the following morning the husband said respecting his wife, "She's alive, and to all appearances better." Mr. Finney answered, "Brother, she will not die of this sickness; you may rely upon it. And she will never die in her sins." She recovered, and soon became a believer in the Lord Jesus to the saving of her soul. He yet did not know what conclusion to arrive at concerning his burden of soul; but relating the case to an experienced Christian, he said, "Why, that was the travail of your soul." This remark, and referring to certain Scriptures, led him to understand what it was to have travail of soul and then be satisfied with resulting joy. Paul called the Galatians children, "of whom," he said, "I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you." God rolled upon Mr. Finney the burden of souls before he knew what it was.

Up to this time he considered himself a child in biblical learning and dogmatic theology. He had not read theological works, not even a page, as to the controverted tenets of limited atonement, and of the *nature* of the atonement being the literal payment of debt on behalf of an elected number of mankind by Jesus suffering just as much as they deserved to suffer throughout eternity had they not been saved. The minister had not preached these dogmas plainly—his reference to them had been only by assumption and implication; and when he (Finney) came to understand that such views were parts of the system of theology held by the Church, he was filled with surprise, and examining passages of Scripture upon which such views were based, he could not but conclude that they were the result of interpretations of texts in conformity with an established theory. He interpreted texts of Scripture on the nature and extent of the atonement in the same way in which he would have understood them had he found them, or any like them, in a law book. The legal and broad view he took of them was, that Jesus died for all men in satisfying *public justice* on behalf of the human race, which was all that the government of God could require to place salvation within the reach of mankind, and that Jesus did not pay the debt of sinners in the sense of satisfying retributive justice.

Mr. Finney's mind had been disciplined to argumentation and the laws of evidence in another arena than that of scholastic theology before he had known Gospel truth experimentally, or had thought of studying Christian doctrines, and therefore brought an independent and practised mind to the task of examining them. When he ascertained that, according to the reputed orthodox creed, original sin meant that the human *constitution* was morally depraved; that men were utterly unable to comply with the terms of the Gospel, and unable to repent, believe, or do anything God required them to do, while they were free to do evil to any amount; and that for this sinful nature, as well as for their actual transgressions, they deserved to perish for ever; also that the influences of the Holy Spirit on the minds of men were *physical*, acting directly on the substance of the soul; that men were entirely passive in regeneration, and that the will was in slavery; he said, "These doctrines I could not receive." The pastor told him that such subjects ought not to be reasoned on, and that if he did reason on them he probably would land in infidelity, as some of the Princeton students had done, because they would reason on the Confession of Faith instead of receiving it on the authority of the doctors of the school. Mr. Finney at once gave the rational reply that he had the gift of reason that he might use it in ascertaining and justifying the ways of God.

When the Presbytery wished him to attend Princeton College and study theology he declined, alleging as a first reason that his pecuniary means forbade him; and when still pressed and informed that his expenses would be met, he frankly said he would not place himself under such influence as they had been under, for he was confident they had been wrongly educated, and that they were not ministers which met his ideal of what ministers ought to be. Notwithstanding this frank and open statement of his views and feelings, they appointed his pastor to superintend his theological studies, to whose library he had free access. But his studies under Mr. Gale, the minister, were little more than controversy, and he finally said to Mr. G., "If there is nothing better than I find in your library to sustain the great doctrines taught by our Church, I must be an infidel." In these mental conflicts he spent *long seasons* on his knees over his Bible, beseeching God to teach and lead him in relation to the subjects he was seeking to understand as to what really was the Divine mind. He says, "I had nowhere to go but to the Bible, and to the philosophy or workings of my own mind as revealed in consciousness." Thus he gradually formed views of his own on Christian doctrine, which appeared to him unequivocally taught in the Bible. He had been accustomed to the close reasoning of the judges as found in books of law that he studied in view of his profession; but when he

examined theological works put into his hands on questions of theology he had to take up in the course of study, the more he read them the more dissatisfied he became. In his candid view the authors frequently fell short of logically proving anything, while he became more and more convinced that the positions they took were unsound.

Mr. Finney's examination by the Presbytery took place in 1824. It was known he had been useful, and it appeared to him that in the course of examination questions were avoided that would naturally have brought his views into collision with theirs; and when asked if he received the "Confession of Faith," which had not been made part of his study in theology, his answer was, he "received it for substance of doctrine as far as he understood it," and he says, "I answered honestly as I understood it at the time." On this examination he was accepted and licensed. On the following Sabbath he preached for Mr. Gale, and when he came from the pulpit he said, "Mr. Finney, I shall be very much ashamed to have it known wherever you go that you studied theology under me." On the other hand, Mr. Finney was not only convinced that Mr. Gale's theological views were unsound, but that as a preacher he was seriously defective, inasmuch as he *never expected* his sermons to accomplish the conversion of sinners. If repentance, faith, and conversion took place in any case it was solely, in his view, by the irresistible operation of the Divine Spirit. And such were his (Mr. F.'s) convictions with respect to the ministers in general who had come within the range of his acquaintance, while, from all that he could gather out of the Bible, they were sadly lacking in the power from on high—the Holy Ghost—which it is the privilege of those to possess who proclaim the gospel of salvation. It is, however, proper to state here that in after years, when Mr. Finney had been so abundantly useful that multitudes of souls were brought to Christ in connection with his labours, Mr. Gale changed his views, became a co-worker with his former student in the glorious revivals that occurred, and expressed his deep thankfulness to God that he had *not* been successful in leading Mr. Finney to adopt a different course to that which he so firmly took in examining for himself the theology of the schools. He frankly expressed his own error in dealing with Mr. Finney as he had done when under his care, saying at the same time that "if he had listened to him, he would have been ruined as a minister."

Shortly after being licensed he commenced his first missionary tour, going into new settlements, called the back country, taking a commission for six months from a missionary society, where soon a work of great awakening and conversion commenced, which included many who had been desperate characters in wickedness,

and some who were deists and sceptics. He preached in barns, school-houses, and out of doors; and the revival spread widely through that new region of country. He did not go merely to tell people that they were sinners and that Christ died for their salvation, but that they were required to repent, turn to God with their hearts unto righteousness, and believe the Gospel, and do it at once; that they had ability to repent and believe in Jesus; and that if they did not voluntarily comply with Gospel conditions they would perish in their guilt and unbelief. Thus did he charge upon them the guilt of their unconverted state, and that it was most flagrant wickedness to reject Christ and remain unsaved.

We will mention one remarkable instance of ability and tact he displayed in dealing with sinners while he earnestly sought Divine guidance and help. He had preached repeatedly in a village and began to be very anxious to see fruit, and after preaching one night he said he was wishful to know what course they proposed to pursue. "You," said he, "admit that what I preach is Gospel. You profess to believe it; now, will you receive it? You must have some mind about it; and now I have a right to take it for granted, inasmuch as you admit that I have preached the truth, that you acknowledge your obligation to become Christians. This obligation you do not deny. Will you meet and discharge it? Now, I must know your minds." After this he desired those who had made up their minds to become Christians to *rise up*, and those who had not done so, and wished him and Christ so to understand, to *sit still*. They all sat still and looked one at the other. "Then," said he, "You are committed; you have taken your stand; you have rejected Christ and His Gospel, and ye are witnesses one against the other, and God is witness against you all, and you may remember as long as you live that you have thus publicly committed yourselves against the Saviour." The people arose *en masse* for the door. "I am sorry for you," he called out, "and will preach to you once more to-morrow night." There were a few Congregationalists and Baptists in the neighbourhood who thought that this proceeding on the part of Mr. F. had ruined all hopeful appearances. But there was a deacon present whose discernment went further than that of the rest, and after the people were gone he, smiling, took Mr. Finney's hand, saying, "You have got them; they cannot rest under this, rely upon it. I believe you have done the very thing that needed to be done, and we shall see the results." Mr. F. held the same views. On the following day he, accompanied by the deacon, went into the grove and spent the *whole afternoon in prayer*, and "felt assured they had prevailed with God, and that His power would be revealed." The meeting-house was packed at the appointed hour, when he preached on Isaiah iii. 10, 11. He says, "The Spirit of

God came upon me in such power that it was like opening a battery upon them." General conviction spread over the whole congregation. He addressed them through the sermon as if they were committed against God. The work of conversion began and continued long. A band of deists was broken up, and most of them became Christians. The wicked, profane, swearing tavern keeper, who had been furiously rampant against Christians and against God, was converted, and used his bar-room for prayer meetings. In this way God owned Mr. Finney's first missionary evangelistic labours.

From the beginning of his ministerial work he adopted a style of address suited to the common people. Before his conversion, in speaking and writing, he used ornate language; but being very desirous to be understood, he earnestly studied to express his thoughts with the greatest simplicity. Being among mechanics, farmers, and other similar classes, he borrowed illustrations from their occupations and things with which they were familiar. Some ministers he met with blamed him for illustrating his ideas by reference to the common affairs of men. "Why do you not take *a more dignified way* of illustration?" they said. "Illustrate from the events of ancient history." He replied, he did not wish to cultivate a style of oratory that would soar above the heads of the people, but to make himself understood. He was told he let down the dignity of the pulpit; that he talked like a lawyer at the bar, and in a colloquial manner; that he said *you* instead of saying *they* when preaching to sinners, and that he was guilty of repetition in turning over the same thought in various ways to make himself understood; and he was also told he would never interest the educated part of his congregations. Time, however, soon proved the contrary of all this. The learned as well as the comparatively illiterate largely numbered among those brought to Christ under his labours. Educated men, lawyers, and judges were converted by scores in connection with his ministry.

Mr. Finney's revival labours were still abundantly successful. For a time he principally visited parts of the country where the Gospel was very sparingly preached and public worship and religious meetings were little observed, acting the part of a true evangelistic missionary. He would take his horse, visit such a place, take up lodgings in the hotel, at once find out any pious persons who resided in the vicinity, move about among the people with eyes and ears alert to ascertain their moral condition, arrange to hold meetings in the school-house or meeting-house—church—if there were one in the place, and then commit his case and that of the people to God in *long hours* of prayer, probably in the adjacent woods. The burden of his soul was to preach and pray as by the Divine blessing to convert sinners and bring them

to Christ. When the time of meeting arrived he would pour out his full heart upon the assembly with regard to the vices and sins of which he knew they were guilty, and declare to them the love of God, while burning tears streamed from his eyes. Deep interest was soon awakened, people crowded to the after meetings, conviction spread among them, and extensive revivals ensued. From the very first step in his ministerial course he never calculated on spending his strength for naught and labouring at uncertainty; but was resolved, God helping him, to see fruit in saved souls being seals to his ministry. He had faith *in God* that He *is*, and that his blessing is sure upon earnest, prayerful, faithful, well-directed effort. He had faith in the power and adaptation of the Gospel to the sinful state of men of every moral grade; and he had faith in himself, ignoring the mistaken, ignorant, or mock humility that thinks a man too insignificant and unimportant to be the fulcrum upon which God will rest great movements for blessing men. He believed that with the Gospel in his mouth and the Bible in his hand he could be a blessed agent for the conversion of men and the extension of the kingdom of Christ. The following instance is illustrative of the above observations.

Mr. Finney went to a village of the name of Antwerp. It was rather a new settlement, but a brick meeting-house, or church, had been built to encourage the settlement. The people who settled there, however, had no mind to maintain public worship; therefore it was locked up. It was Friday when he arrived. A small number of pious persons lived in the place, and a pious lady agreed to open her parlour that evening for meeting. He invited and prevailed on thirteen persons to attend, to whom he preached and announced that he would preach in the school-house on the following Sabbath if he could get the use of it. In passing through the village and stepping into various business places he found a vast amount of profanity, the people cursing and swearing at each other. It seemed to him as if "he were on the borders of hell." On the Saturday he gave himself up to importunate prayer. He ascertained that the announced preaching service in the school-house was producing great excitement. Fears were felt that something serious might happen if religious meetings were held. He urged his petition in prayer till this answer was given:—"Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace; for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee; for I have much people in this city."

On Sabbath morning he went into the woods long before service time, and continued in earnest prayer, with a burdened spirit, relative to the work before him on that day. He prayed a second time with increased pressure on his mind, and a third time, when the answer came. He rose from his knees, found it was time for meeting, went at once to the school-house, which was

packed with people. Holding a pocket Bible in his hand, he read for his text, "God so loved the world that he gave His only begotten son," &c. (John iii. 16). His principal point of discourse was to show the treatment God received in return for his love, and he poured out his full soul and his tears together. He saw men present who the day before he had heard utter awful profanity; pointed them out, told what they said—how they called on God to damn each other. "Indeed," says he, "I let loose my whole heart upon them, and told them they seemed to howl blasphemy like hell hounds." This was known to be true. The people quailed under the power of truth and wept, while the preacher wept and preached.

Information of this meeting spread like fire through the settlement, and in the afternoon the church, which had long been locked up, was opened and crowded. Mr. F. preached again. He says, "It seemed to myself as if I could rain hail and love upon them at the same time." The labours of this first Sabbath were grandly effectual in the conviction of a large number of the population; and afterwards, wherever an appointment was made for meeting round about the neighbourhood, the people thronged to hear. A revival commenced and progressed with great power, which led to the settlement of a young man as pastor for that people and an adjoining village.

Similar results followed almost wherever he laboured. It may be asked, how can this be accounted for? What could be the reason of such uniformly extraordinary success? We answer, he did not go just to preach finely-prepared sermons that might have had very small application to the special state and needs of the people, exalting himself more than Jesus, causing his hearers to say he is a smart man and an eloquent speaker; nor did he go with the ordinary spirit and anxiety, which rests satisfied with the use of common means; but the burden of souls was upon him, and he travailed in birth for them. He also came near to God in this soul-travail, took hold of His strength, His love and truth, and enlisted the power of the Holy Spirit, believing all things possible to God. Besides this, there was the exercise of judgment and courage, and the adaptation of means to the desired end. He got to know the state of the people; he began to work and pray immediately; he adapted his preaching to the existing needs around him; he courageously cried aloud, showing up with great plainness the vices and sins of which the people were guilty; and while scathing them with burning words, it was from an affectionate heart; and, though black with sin and steeped in vulgar wickedness, they saw and felt he *loved them.* By earnest, loving, well-directed means, in believing dependence upon God, the people were smitten with conviction and then converted, and revival power and glory spread far and wide.

A series of awakenings, known as the "Western Revival," in which Mr. Finney was the principal agent, commenced in this wise:—Mr. Gale, Mr. F.'s former pastor and tutor, resided at Western, having settled on a farm to regain his health. He had prevailed on Mr. Finney to pay him a visit. In connection with this proposed visit a most extraordinary religious movement originated. On the afternoon of the same day on which he arrived at Western Mr. Gale invited him to attend a prayer meeting in the school-house. There was a small Presbyterian church in the town, composed of a few members and three elders. The prayer meeting was commenced by an elder reading a chapter, then a hymn was sung, after which a long prayer was made. But Mr. F. says, "I hardly know what to call it. He told the Lord how many years they had been holding that prayer meeting weekly, and that no answer had been given to their prayer. He made such statements and confessions as greatly shocked me. Another elder went nearly over the same ground, making some statements the first had omitted, and the third elder followed in a similar strain." Mr. Finney was asked if he would make a remark before they were dismissed. He rose, and took their statements and confessions for a text, and dissected them. Says he, "The Spirit of God came upon me." He asked "if it had been understood that the prayer meeting was a mock prayer meeting? Whether they had come together professedly to mock God by implying that all the blame of what had been passing all this time was to be ascribed to His sovereignty?" He made other observations in the track of their prayers and confessions, when the principal elder burst into tears, exclaiming, "Brother Finney, it is all true." He fell upon his knees and wept aloud. All present went on their knees, wept, and confessed before God. At the close of this meeting Mr. Finney was invited to remain and preach on the following Sabbath. In the interim he frequently went into the church to engage in secret prayer. On Sabbath the church was filled with people. He preached all day with great power, preached during the week in different parts of the town, and a great revival commenced, which increased from day to day. In this unlooked-for and strange way began a work of grace that proved one of extraordinary magnitude, which spread from town to town through a great region of country, and that in after times became known as "The Western Revival."

As a further illustration of his prevalence in secret prayer, we name the following incident:—When at Western, one day, he had been visiting enquirers with Mr. Gale. They put up the horse, and Mr. F., instead of going into the house, crept into the hay-loft to pour out his burdened soul in prayer. The work of revival had begun, and he was deeply concerned respecting its continuance and

growth. He prayed until the burden left him, and after the struggle in his soul was over he was exhausted and fell asleep. At length Mr. Gale climbed into the hay-loft and said, "Brother Finney, are you dead?" "I awoke," says he, "and at first could give no account why I was there, and could form no idea how long I had been there; but this I knew, that my mind was calm and my faith unwavering. The work would *go on;* of that I felt *assured.*"

He did not count it enough to occupy the pulpit in these revivals; but spent considerable time in visiting those who were in an anxious state of mind. His family visits were sometimes attended with extraordinary results. We give the following case in point:—A young woman was deeply convinced and almost in despair. In conversing with her he had suspected that something was wrong at home. He ascertained from her that there was once family prayer at home, but it had been given up, &c. If ever the parents had possessed religion, it appeared they had lost it, and were now indifferent and worldly. He visited this family, and found the only daughter bowed down and sunken in despair. He said to the mother, "The Spirit of the Lord is striving with your daughter," and he then asked if she ever prayed for her. She answered in a way which indicated that she did not. The husband was called in. Mr. F. said, "Do you see the state your daughter is in?" He replied, he "thought she felt bad." "And are you willing to engage in prayer for her?" The answer was unsatisfactory. "You do not have family prayers?" "No, sir." "Now, I have seen your daughter day after day bowed down with conviction, and I have learned that the difficulty is here at home. You shut up the kingdom of heaven against her. Your unbelief and worldly-mindedness prevent the conversion of your daughter, and will ruin your own soul. Now, you must repent. I do not intend to leave this house until you and your wife repent and get out of the way of your daughter. You must establish family prayer and build up the altar that has fallen down. Will you get down here on your knees, you and your wife, and engage in prayer?" Mr. F. says, "I felt the work must be done and *done then.* They knelt and wept. They both broke down their hearts and confessed their sins. I tried to lead them to God and prevail with God in their behalf." Before they rose the daughter obtained peace and rejoiced in Christ.

Mr. F. had some striking idiosyncrasies, one of which was a simple, thorough whole-heartedness in everything. A wealthy merchant in the town of Reading, one branch of whose business was making whisky, had just put up a large distillery with all the latest improvements at great expense. He was converted in the revival that took place there, when he spontaneously said, alluding

to the whisky business, "*I shall have nothing to do with that; I shall tear my distillery down; I will neither work it, nor sell it to be worked.*" This merchant died of consumption in a short time after his conversion. His last day on earth was the Sabbath on which candidates from the new converts were to be admitted into the church. Several of his family and many of his relatives were converted, and they were numbered with the candidates. He said to his wife on the Sabbath morning, "I am going to spend the Sabbath in heaven. Let all the family and all the friends go and unite with the church below." He died before meeting time. The family and friends gathered round his corpse, laid him in his shroud, then turned away, as he desired, to join the church militant, while he went to be a member of the church triumphant. But the main reason why we mention this case is to bring out one of Mr. F.'s peculiarities, while it is touchingly interesting in itself. Dr. Greer, the minister, had passed away just before, having died of apoplexy. Mr. Finney, visiting the dying merchant, who, though a recent convert, was so finely ripe for the heavenly kingdom, said to him, "*Give my love to Brother Greer when you get to heaven.*" The merchant smiled with holy joy and said, "*Do you think I shall know him?*" "*Undoubtedly you will know him. Give my love, and tell him the work is going on gloriously.*" The work and the glory of the work were all-in-all to him, and such were his simple, childlike faith and love that he would send a message to his disembodied ministerial friend, the burden of which was the *grand fact*, "The work is going on gloriously." "Faith is the substance—the conviction—of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."

(*To be continued.*)

Art. VI.—COUNSELS TO YOUNG MINISTERS.

Address to Candidates for the Approved List, Leeds District, May, 1877.

BELOVED BRETHREN,—The work assigned me to-night is rendered very pleasant by the fact that we are not strangers to each other, as I have known three of you from your entering the ministry, and for *three* of the four years of your probation have had a considerable share in the work of testing your progress in study. I have also the boldness to think that I have so much of your confidence that you will receive with respectful consideration what I may feel it necessary to say to you to-day.

I wish to remind you that while the season of probation has been a critical period of your life, by far the most critical period lies before you. You have so far had the river voyage, with its

shores on each side, and are just about to cross the bar and enter the deep waters. The voyage has but fairly begun, and its success or failure depends upon how you have profited by your coasting experience. You may become successful merchantmen, that shall have many a prosperous voyage and carry the welcome merchandise of heaven to every shore you visit; or you may, for lack of courage, diligence, and fidelity, become crafts of doubtful reputation, utterly unseaworthy, and, like too many others, become miserable wrecks. I hope and trust the latter alternative will not be the lot of any of you, and in this confidence I am encouraged to speak to you the more freely and cheerfully at this time. Suffer, then, my brethren, the word of exhortation from one who has seen a little service already, and who desires to speak to you as a father to his sons. And

1. Let me ask you, as you value your honour and peace and usefulness, *to be true to the Connexion* which has honoured you with its confidence by putting you into its ministry. You will not find her all you desire; you will find here and there a few unreasonable men; you will have many privations and difficulties to face and endure, and you may, in consequence, be tempted to leave her ministry for that of some other church; but never, in any moment of weakness or irritation, allow such a temptation the least place in your heart. I have seen more of her defects than you are likely to see, and have endured more from her weak members than you are likely to suffer, and have been quite as much tempted as you will be likely to be tempted to leave her; but it is my honest and deeply-rooted conviction that her defects are fewer and less serious than those of any other church, being chiefly the defects of youthfulness, and that in no other branch of Methodism or Dissent can you find a freer, broader, or grander field for ministerial toil. You may rely upon it that, while necessity may induce other churches to open their doors to receive you, it is not probable they will entertain a high opinion of the man who deserts the ranks of the regiment in which he has been cradled and trained. I don't say these things because I fear any damage to our societies by the secession of her preachers, for though scores of ministers have left us, I don't suppose that we are to-day conscious of any loss of power thereby. I am sure that so long as our church is divinely guided there will never be wanting a race of suitable ministers to carry forward the work of God among us; but I say these things for your sakes—to save you from dishonour and sorrow.

2. Allow me to remind you that *on your character as Christians* will depend more than on anything else your usefulness as ministers. You will not, I trust, suppose that I under-rate solid learning or genius, for no man has a higher admiration of them than myself;

but I wish to say that their value to the Christian minister depends very largely on the character of the man who wields them. In some denominations a man may be estimated according to the splendour of his talents or the wealth of his learning; but in a simple, active, living church like ours it is happily otherwise. And why is it otherwise? Because with us education is not regarded as the end of religious instruction, but only as the means to a higher end, and that end the formation of a truly godly character. And while ability to teach and learning to enlighten are both essential to that end, the power of living Christian character is by far the greatest force. People may extol your learning and admire your abilities, and remain spiritually unmoved by them; but they will venerate your goodness, and be stimulated to copy it. Ministers are model men; they are insensibly but constantly moulding the people among whom they labour by their example. If they are trifiers, they will make others still more trifling than themselves; if they are vain and worldly, proud and resentful, they will help to rear and develop the same evils in those with whom they associate. If you would, by the grace of God, largely aid in moulding men after the image of Jesus, you must be constantly aiming to resemble Him yourselves.

3. Do not be surprised that I urge you to be *Bible students.* You have been engaged lately in studies that are more calculated to discipline the intellect than to furnish resources for the pulpit. That discipline will, I hope, prove salutary and life-long profitable; but do not suppose that that sort of intellectual exercise and aliment is to be the grand employment of your life. You may by perseverance in that sort of intellectual drill become intellectual gladiators, but not good ministers of Christ. Your past studies have been deemed needful to give you clearness of mental perception and energy of mental grasp—they were designed to supply you with tools with which to do your work. But your work is preaching the Gospel—teaching, exhorting, comforting, sanctifying, saving men by the Gospel. To do this you must understand it, grasp it, be familiar with it in all its associations. And to do this you will need to study it daily, constantly, earnestly, critically, prayerfully; not books of theology or commentaries, but the book itself. The Bible is its own best and safest expositor. The men whose writings contain the best expositions of the Gospel are the men who have obtained their views at the fountain of truth. They have availed themselves of the aids that sound philology affords, but they have come to the Bible with humble, loving purpose to learn by the Word the will of God and the way of salvation in all its connections by the illumination of the Holy Spirit. Be Bible students above all things else. It is sad to think that too many preachers master any book, any science, better than they master

the Bible. They are familiar with Paley, and Cowper, and Tupper, and Shakspeare, and Euclid, and Hume, and comparative strangers to the Bible. What would be thought of a lawyer who was familiar with anatomy, and architecture, and music, and a stranger to law? It would be felt to be a sad reflection on his good sense or honesty of purpose. My brethren, science, history, poetry, philosophy, and travel may all be largely contributory to the illustration of the Gospel; but their study should always be subordinated by you to that of the Bible.

4. I will not shrink from earnestly pressing on you *to keep to the old landmarks of evangelical truth.* We have a good deal of speculation now-a-days in theology, but there is really nothing to be apprehended from it to the truth; for Christ will take care of His Church and of the foundation of truth on which it rests. And the result of the present speculations will be to render more clear and precious the truth as it is in Jesus. If you would be neither alarmed for the safety of the Divine foundation, nor in danger of slipping from the foundation yourselves, let me exhort you to hold fast to the precious, and perfect, and all-availing truth of atonement through the blood and righteousness of the Lord Jesus. This is the life and marrow of the Gospel. Apprehend the nature and value of this, and you cannot fail to recognise the ruin of man by sin, and the need of regeneration by the Holy Spirit. I want you to have more than a nominal orthodoxy. It is comparatively easy to adopt the form of sound words, and to pronounce the evangelical shibboleth distinctly, while the transcendant grandeur and absolute necessity of Divine grace through Jesus to meet man's deep necessities is not fully realised. To feel that salvation is of the Lord and is all to be realised in union with Jesus by a faith of the operation of the Holy Ghost is a Divine inspiration, and can come only from the Father of Lights. But it is this inspiration, this clear, felt need of Jesus for everything, and this apprehension of everything in Jesus that constitutes the true evangelical principle, the key that unlocks all the treasures of grace contained in the promises and provisions of salvation. All is easy with Jesus; all is lost without Him. This gives the true Gospel ring to your prayers—all asked, all expected, through the Lord Jesus. This will give the true keynote to your preaching—Jesus the physician, Jesus the medicine, Jesus the consolation, Jesus the bread of life, Jesus the motive, the way, the truth, the life, "the all and in all." I regret deeply that I did not earlier in my ministry apprehend this grand principle. The lack of it has led me to depend on resolution, on prayers, on many things for success, instead of on Christ alone, and, as a consequence, I have failed in many cases as a Christian minister both in praying, in living, and in preaching, where otherwise I might have succeeded.

You can realise this grand principle only by intimate and persevering union with Jesus by secret prayer and the devout study of the Scriptures. May you have wisdom from on high to see these things and to press into them.

5. Permit me to press on you the *cultivation of sincere love to all your ministerial brethren.* You will find some of them defective in learning, and others defective in judgment; some defective in temper, and some defective in charity; but remember they see your defects as clearly as you see theirs, and the presence of defects in them is no reason why you should not love them. There are none of them but may be helpful to you in some way. You are all engaged in the same high and glorious employment, and by the same Master, and there are not two of us who are endowed with exactly the same gifts, so that there should be neither envy nor jealousy among brother ministers. If any brother is more acceptable in his labours, or more useful in any department of labour than yourselves, remember it is the Lord's cause that has the benefit, and let it be your joy to honour such brethren and to magnify the grace which Christ has given them. Do not try to depreciate the value of any brother's abilities, or attainments, or piety. If his failings are unknown to those who extol his excellences, let them remain unknown, and rejoice for your Master's sake to cover them. Remember, in exposing the weakness of a brother minister, you are robbing him of that precious reputation which is so important to every public man, and that you not only damage your brother but the cause of Jesus in your own society. Besides, what is so likely to breed differences among the members of the Church as broils between brother ministers? From the example of the ministers our members will take license of a double measure to quarrel and live in enmity and malice; and what is to put down such things if the ministers cannot or will not cherish brotherly love? Let us, then, be ensamples to the flock by closing our hearts and ranks against the least inroad of envy, jealousy, or resentment towards each other.

6. *Cultivate a pure friendship with all the members of your flock.* There are some of them towards whom you will feel a stronger attraction than to others, from congeniality of character. This is not only allowable, but it is unavoidable. There are others whose disposition, and temper, and habits will repel you; and there are many shades of weakness and excellence to vary the admiration or other feelings of your nature towards them. But never allow partiality to blind you to any man's failings, and never allow any man's failings to prevent you from treating him as a brother and a friend. If there are those who injure or treat you coldly, never, on any account or in any way, resent such treatment. There is but one way of retaliation lawful to a Christian, and it is

good for evil, love for hatred, blessing for cursing. Remember these people belong to Christ—even imperfect as they seem to be at times—and as you treat them Christ will receive the treatment as done to himself. Visit every man that asks you to do so, and visit those most who need you the most. Make favourites of nobody, and never, for any purpose or under any circumstances, encourage a partizan spirit in your circuits. If you cannot exercise godly discipline without forming a party, you cannot do so with one. Your business is to benefit and bless everybody, however defective and sinful he may be, and therefore it is a part of your duty to despise nobody, overlook nobody; be the kind and courteous friend of everybody, for Christ's sake.

7. Finally, let me charge you, as you value your own soul and the souls of others, as you value your comfort in a dying hour and your reward at the great examination, *live daily to please God.* You are Methodist preachers, that have decided to observe the discipline of Primitive Methodism, but you are, above all things else, the servants of Christ. He has called you, as you believe, to this particular work. He is your master. To negociate with man on His behalf is your business. If you have His approval, you need fear no man's condemnation. You can only rise to the true dignity of your office by making His favour and approval the end of your labours. If you lose sight of this, you will have no sure and unerring principle of action to guide you. You will drift into the ruinous maze of man-pleasing and man-fearing, that will repress and at length crush within you every truly noble and Christian sentiment; you will get annoyed and discouraged because men do not favour your plans and labours, and because some of them oppose and try to injure you; and you will be apt to yield to the temptation to make your duty square with your personal convenience and interest. O! brethren, rise to the glorious level of pleasing and honouring God in everything, and you will rise above the region of cloud, and fog, and miasma, and, free as the eagle in the sky, pursue your heaven-directed career of holy, disinterested toil, strong in the consciousness of the smile of Jesus and the grace of trusting wholly and only in the Lord. What avail the smiles, and praises, and plaudits of mortals, unless Jesus smiles on our labours? These may elate and exhilarate you in the day of success and popularity, but they will afford you no comfort in the season of affliction or in the hour of death. Pursue the favour of man, and you will pursue a shadow that will be constantly fleeing ahead of you. You will fail to gain it just in proportion as you aim to grasp it. And, oh! the sad reflection that must haunt the minister in the hours of retirement and of life's closing season that has been living for the breath of human applause! Aim to please God. Every day work for Jesus, and no cross will be too heavy,

no toil too arduous, no suffering too agonizing that may befal you in your Master's service. His favour will gild the darkest hours of your life; His blessing and His word will fortify you in every conflict; and it will not matter how, or when, or where the Master shall order you home. Life spent under such motives and influences will be pleasant and really glorious. You will live daily in the presence of your blessed Master, and whenever your labours cease here you will enter with joy into the glory that He has in store for the good and faithful servant.

R. TANFIELD.

ART. VII.—THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH.

"CHARITY begins at home" is an old and oft-repeated adage, which, containing a grain of truth, is not unfrequently so interpreted as to make it teach a pound of error. Extremely selfish and parsimonious people have found in it an excuse for their culpable neglect of the destitute, for their meagre contributions to the benevolent operations of the Church, for their utter disregard of the Macedonian cry constantly arising from the wilds of Africa, the jungles of Hindostan, the plains of China, and the isles of the sea, "*Come over and help us.*"

The Church of Christ is emphatically a missionary Church. It originated in mission work, and has been perpetuated by like means. Christ Himself, its divine founder and head, who bought it with His blood, and has preserved it by His power, was its first missionary, whom we may regard, when looking upon the human side of His life, a Home, but on the divine side a Foreign Missionary. By birth a Jew, His labours were principally confined to those of His own nation. He began His work at home. Dwelling in the bosom of the Father, by Him was He sent into the world "to seek and to save that which was lost."

After Christ came the apostles—twelve missionaries—chosen and qualified by Him for mission work. Connected with their commission to preach the Gospel were the instructions, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not; but go rather to the lost sheep of the House of Israel" (Mat. x. 5, 6). According to the Master's express command, the apostles were, therefore, to follow in His footsteps, in this as in many other respects, by beginning to work for the world's regeneration at home.

Nature dictates that those allied to us by consanguinity or nationality should be the first objects of our solicitude, and the

first subjects of our benevolence. Tacitus, a heathen writer, says, "*Liberos cuique ac propinquos natura charissimos esse voluit.*" But what other is the voice of nature than the voice of God? The Almighty Father speaks just as definitely to us through our mental and moral endowments as through His written Word. If love of kindred be an original principle of our natures—which I believe it to be—then God commands us through it to devote ourselves to their well-being before looking after others.

Now, with this principle implanted in the human heart by its beneficent Creator, the gospel must harmonise, as both have a like origin. Nature and Revelation cannot conflict. God never teaches one thing by His works, and the opposite by His word. "He cannot deny Himself." While, therefore, we find the sentiment written with the finger of the Almighty within the red-leaved volume of the human heart, "Charity begins at home," we also find accordant truths written by the same finger upon the sacred page. Charity, however, never ceases its work at the place of beginning. It is progressive in its operations. St. Paul not only asserts that "if any man provide not for his own, especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel," 1 Tim. v, 8; but likewise commands, "As we have opportunity, let us do good unto all men," Gal. vi. 10. Benevolence, like the light of the sun, is diffusive. There is not a possibility of confining it within the narrow limits of a family, or the boundaries of a nation. The wants, the sufferings, and the sorrows of those who were "aliens to the commonwealth of Israel" touched the benevolent heart of Jesus, no less than the wants, sufferings, and sorrows of the sons and daughters of Jacob. Were not the Roman father, the Syrophœnician mother, the Samaritan woman made sensible of the fact, by acts of kindness, that His heart throbbed in love for those unable to pronounce the Shibboleth of the Jew? And in Him we have our model. He has not merely in His word given the details how to build, but likewise in His life the model after which to build. From His example we learn that not simply those of a particular household, community, or nation, should awaken our sympathies, but every form of wretchedness, wherever it may exist, every tear of sorrow, wherever it may fall, should thrill our hearts with pitying love. Hence, we say, although home is the place to begin the sublime work of saving men, yet he who limits himself to so narrow a sphere must either be ignorant of the requirements of the gospel, or guilty of dereliction of duty. Gospel precepts forbid our stopping with a single family, congregation, community, or nation, but urge us on beyond the seas, over mountain barriers, through frost and fire, through tropical green and arctic snow, until, from the earth's girdle to its poles, all nations, tribes, and peoples "shall know the joyful sound." Christ not

only says to every converted soul, "Go home to thy friends, and tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee," Mark v. 19, but, in addition to this, commands, "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," Mark xvi. 15. Hence all believers should, in every Christian way possible, seek the advancement of Christ's kingdom both at home and abroad. Missionary operations, whether directed towards such as may be famishing for the bread of life at our very doors, or perishing with spiritual hunger in the uttermost parts of the earth, are identically the same work. Consequently the issue sometimes raised between Home and Foreign Missions, with regard to their relative importance, is unwarranted by the gospel. There cannot possibly be any antagonism between them. Both are equally important. Both are aiming to accomplish the same purpose. Therefore he who would give his entire support to the home work, and utterly refuse aid to the foreign field, or *vice versa*, is as injudicious as a coachman who, while wishing his carriage to run easy and noiseless, would oil only one arm of the axle, and leave the other perfectly dry, wearing and grinding and creaking with every revolution. The Christian Church has but one mission, and that this may be fulfilled it should be liberally sustained in all of its departments of labour.

In the organisation of the Church we have most manifestly evidence of design. God never does any thing without a purpose, neither does He employ a particular instrumentality for the attainment of a specific end when another would be more available. Infinite wisdom never experiments, is never at a loss for the proper means to effect contemplated results.

The Church is an instrumentality in God's hands for the accomplishment of His gracious purposes towards our world lying in wickedness. Its mission, therefore, is to carry forward to a glorious consummation the work began by its Divine Founder. As to the nature of this work, Christ Himself gives all needful information where He says "God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved," John iii. 17.

Christ's mission contemplated nothing less than the regeneration and salvation of our sinful race. When

> "Down from the shining seats above
> With joyful haste He fled,"

it was to do His Father's will, "who," St. Paul says, "will have all to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth," 1 Tim. ii. 4.

The relation sustained by God to "all men" confirms our faith in His willingness to save all. "Have not all one Father?" asks the prophet: "Hath not one God created us?" Moses, in his

cosmology, answers these questions affirmatively: "God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth," Gen. i. 27, 28. So likewise the apostle Paul, in his great sermon on Mars Hill, where he declared to the Athenians, who boastfully assumed for themselves a different and nobler origin than that of the barbarians, that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth," Acts xvii. 26. Mankind have a common origin—one Father, who loves all, and therefore desires the salvation of all. Esquimaux, Hottentot, Ethiopian can as truly and confidently look to the Eternal Throne, and repeat their "Paternosters," as Teuton, Celt, or Briton.

God's character and moral attributes evince a willingness on His part to save "all men." Impartiality, goodness, benevolence, patience, love, and mercy are constantly displayed in His gracious and providential dealings towards the children of men. "Of a truth I perceive," said Peter, the Jew, in the House of Cornelius, the Gentile, "God is no respecter of persons" (Acts x. 34). Every man looking beneath the surface of things will be compelled to make a like acknowledgment. God's gifts in nature, through which our temporal comforts are promoted, are unlimited in their application to any particular class of individuals. The same sun sheds his rays on all, the same starry heavens alike canopy all with grandeur; the air we breathe has an original adaptation to all who inhale it; the flowers bloom to please, and the birds sing to cheer one as much as another. Earth has been made a wide garden of pleasant fruits and summer blooms, but little inferior, perhaps, to the straitened paradise that was lost, that all of God's children might share in His rich bounty.

And yet we have to admit that in the inequalities in the condition of men there is an apparent partiality manifested in God's providences. To one man is given an iron constitution—he passes his days and nights undisturbed by ache or pain; another from his very birth is the victim of disease, scarcely knowing the enjoyment there is in a moment's freedom from physical suffering. One is possessed of the highest intellectual endowments—his mind grasps the most intricate subjects, it would seem, almost intuitively; another has scarcely intellect sufficient to learn the alphabet or count his fingers. The birth-place of one is in a Christian land, where he possesses all the accessories necessary to help him on his way to glory and to God; another has his lot cast in some benighted corner of the earth, where every surrounding tends to carry him onward to the vortex of irretrievable ruin and eternal death. Here are irregularities that, to those taking a mere superficial view of things, may seem to reflect upon the goodness and

impartiality of God. But when we take into consideration the grand principle of compensation, which is manifestly characteristic of the Divine Government, what appeared to be a substance is ascertained to be a delusion. Every loss has a corresponding gain. What the sick and infirm lose in physical enjoyment may be more than made up to them in spiritual. Blindness to those possessing perfect vision seems a great affliction, and yet the blind are usually the most cheerful of men. Many a man who has lost his sight in mature life has pronounced his last years the best. The interior vision has become clearer and more profound. The sense of hearing has become more acute, as well as that of feeling more delicate; and thus the loss of the one sense is compensated by gain in the others. Kitto thanked God that total deafness revealed to him music that he never imagined before. Hence, whatever man's condition, however great his physical infirmities, and even sufferings, God's goodness and love appear amid them all, in compensating for every loss by the bestowment of equal or even greater blessings. But let it not be forgotten that everything seemingly incompatible with rectitude in God as a sovereign will be made plain when He sits upon His throne as Judge of angels and of men. Deficiencies will then be fully supplied. At that day it will be more tolerable for the heathen than for those who have lived in Christian lands without improving their exalted privileges. "That servant which knew his Lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes. But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes. For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required" (Luke xii. 47, 48). Hence, we say, every one looking beneath the surface of things, studying God's providences in the light of His Word, must be constrained to say with the Psalmist, "The Lord is good to all" (Ps. cxlv. 9); "The earth is full of His riches" (Ps. civ. 24). We live, and move, and have our being in a world swimming in God's rich bounty. Streams of benevolence are continually flowing from the exhaustless fountain of His love, making green and beautiful the abodes of men, causing the desert places in human hearts to bud and blossom as the rose.

And then, how patient is God with all. "The Lord is long-suffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance" (2 Peter iii. 9). "Sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily" (Ec. viii. 11). The thunder-bolts of wrath, which justice demands, "Hurl without delay," are long held trembling in His hand, while warning after warning is given before they come crashing down upon the guilty head of the persistent offender.

And then, how great is His mercy—mercy, "His darling

attribute"—for even the vilest of the vile! "He retaineth not His anger for ever, because He delighteth in mercy" (Micah vii. 18). "He delighteth in mercy" is the language of the flowers of Gethsemane, dyed in the blood of His own dear Son. "He delighteth in mercy" rings out from the Cross upon which this Son hangs dying, even while from His pale lips the heart-rending cry is heard, "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" Is there a sinner this side the gates of death but what such mercy can reach? Offered as it was to "Jerusalem sinners," who, in the language of the immortal dreamer in Bedford jail, "had their hands up to the elbows in the heart's blood of Jesus," can we form any other conclusion than that He is willing to show mercy to all?

In the adaptation of the Gospel to the spiritual wants of all men, we are more fully confirmed in our faith that God is willing to save all. Mankind have common spiritual wants no less than physical. The soul has need of food, and clothing, and medicine, as well as the body, and it must have them or famish, and stand exposed in its nakedness, and die of its infirmities. The body is dust, and from the dust it gets its supplies. Bread and beefsteak will satisfy its hunger, water its thirst; cotton, and wool, and silk will cover its nakedness; vegetables and minerals furnish its medicines. But the soul is from above, immaterial, like its great Creator, in whose image it was made. Its wants must be supplied by what is adapted to its nature. It must have spiritual food and drink, spiritual clothing, spiritual medicine. The great God Himself must be its meat and drink, God's righteousness its dress, and God's grace its remedy. What the soul wants, then, to gratify its craving desires, to cover its shame, and give it rest, peace, and joy, is God. Hence the yearnings of the immortal in us can only find satisfaction in God. Job's wail of distress is at some time or other repeated by every soul living without God; "O, that I knew where I might find Him!" Even in the profoundest depths of Pagan prejudice, error, and misbelief, the soul cries aloud for the real Author of its own mysterious creaturehood. No wonder that our Lord exclaimed, "Thou fool!" as he heard the soliloquy of the rich man in the Gospel: "Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years, take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry" (Luke xii. 19); for as well might we attempt to feed the body on wind or light, as the soul on the goods of earth.

Now, to meet these soul-wants, the Gospel is an absolute necessity. We must know God before we can enjoy Him, and know Him not only as a Sovereign, but also as a Father; not only as a Lord, but likewise as a Redeemer. Philosophy, through ratiocination, may discover to us a God, as Creator and Governor of the universe, and Science build a ladder on which we may climb to the throne of

His power, but they fail to reveal to us the benevolence of His heart, or to bring us into the bosom of His love. This is accomplished solely by the gospel. For we must be like God, before we can enjoy Him, and, to be like Him, that wonderful change must be wrought in us of which Christ spake to Nicodemus, when He said, "Ye must be born again," John iii. 7. A renewed soul, or, in other words, a restoration of God's image in the heart, is just as necessary to the enjoyment of communion with God as sight is to recognise beauty of colour, or hearing sweetness of melody. What pleasure would a blind man derive from a walk through the art galleries of Florence, Dresden, or Rome, although surrounded by the finest specimens of art the world has ever produced? What enjoyment would a deaf man receive from the execution, by the best disciplined orchestra, of Mozart or Beethoven's grandest compositions? Might not the former as well be walking on a barren heath as amid the great masters, and the latter sit amid a chaos of noise as the rapturous harmony of instruments? So the unrenewed sinner may live in a world so full of God that, in the language of Seneca, "Whithersoever he turns he sees God meeting him," and yet as far as his enjoyment of God is concerned, he might, were it possible, as well live in a world where God was not. He has no divine sight to apprehend Him in the loveliness of His nature; no divine spirit within him to commune with Him either in the privacy of his own chamber or in the public sanctuary.

Here the gospel comes in with its rich provisions, its abundance of means, its grand doctrines of the incarnation and atonement, through which we behold "God manifest in the flesh," God making "reconciliation for the sins of the people;" giving us the blessed Word to acquaint us with the "good and acceptable, and perfect will of God;" the water of life, and laver of regeneration in the Holy Ghost, and the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the external signs of bread and wine, symbolizing our union and fellowship with God.

The Christian religion, therefore, meets every want of the soul, accomplishes for man and in man what every other system has failed to do. Is he ignorant? Here is wisdom. Is he in darkness? Here is light. Is he starving? Here is bread. Is he sick? Here is medicine. Is he naked? Here is dress. Is he trembling under a sense of guilt? Here is pardon. Is he struggling to be delivered from the body of this death? Here is liberty. Just what he wants, as a poor condemned sinner, and all he wants to make him free and pure and happy in the life that now is and that which is to come, the gospel provides.

The gospel, therefore, alone meets man's case. Made as we are, deliverance from the consequences merely of sin is not enough for us; we must be delivered also from sin itself. It matters not what

difference there may be of race, of language, of rank, of culture, of outward morality; it is enough that we all are human. The first Adam is for ever repeating himself in his offspring. And the one imperative necessity of every child of Adam is, to be born again, a work wrought in the soul by the Holy Ghost, such a work as pagan philosophies and false religions never dreamed of. When this is accomplished, then will the soul find rest and happiness in God.

Now, the mission of the Church is to diffuse a knowledge of the truth among all men in order to their attainment of this blessed experience, and thus bring our world, a revolted province in God's great empire, into submission to its rightful King. Satan's rule must be broken. God has given the whole earth to His Son, and He must have it. Prophecy's golden age, when "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the seas," when "the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of our Lord and His Christ," must dawn. All nations will yet join in one mighty chorus, singing, "Te Deum laudamus." As the Alpine herdsman, at the going down of the sun, it is said, will take his horn, and through it shout, "Praise ye the Lord," and then a brother herdsman, on some distant slope, takes up the echo, "Praise ye the Lord," and then the same notes are caught up by others on more distant heights, till hill shouts to hill, and peak echoes to peak the sublime anthem of praise, while all within the sound of the summons uncover their heads and bow in their evening worship, so, from continent to continent, and from island to island, the world over, will the sound of the gospel's silver trumpet be heard inviting a disenthralled race to praise the Lord, which, in obedience to the summons, will bow in worship at the feet of Him who is God over all, blessed for evermore. "The heathen may rage," and "the kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against His Anointed," "scoffers walking after their own lusts" may ridicule the thought, infidels raise the puny arm of opposition, yet the glorious work of evangelisation will go forward, the enemies of the truth will melt away as snow and ice before the warm breath of spring, the long expected day will appear, when

> "The dwellers in the vales and on the rocks
> Shout to each other, and the mountain tops
> From distant mountains catch the flying joy,
> Till, nation after nation taught the strain,
> Earth rolls the rapturous hosanna round."

We are not insensible to the fact that the work necessary to accomplish so desirable a result is stupendously great; and if it depended solely upon human wisdom and power, the prospect would be extremely discouraging. Even in nominal Christian lands, how

great the majority living "without God in the world! How many who regard the cross as the symbol of their faith never do warfare under its banner! How many who call themselves by Christ's name are almost as ignorant of Christ as the Hottentot! The Church of Jesus Christ has almost as great a missionary field among some nations called Christian as among others where gospel light has never shone. In addition to the multitudes for whose conversion the Church must labour in Christian countries, many of whom have the form of godliness but deny its power, there are in the world no less than six millions of Jews, one hundred and fifty millions of Mahomedans, and eight hundred millions of Pagans, who through its instrumentality must be made savingly acquainted with Jesus. And millions upon millions of these, like the Australians, and Feejees, are sunken so low that in the scale of being they are scarcely perceptible above rats and reptiles. And even those who have attained to a certain degree of civilisation, who have acquired no little scientific knowledge, and who surpass, as our great Centennial Exhibition shows, enlightened nations in art, are morally no better, possibly not as good, as the brutish Australians, or cannibal New Zealanders, or snake-eating Africans. The followers of Mahomed, the disciples of Confucius, the votaries of Sivah, Brama, and Vishnu, although free from the disgusting habits, the brutish modes of life characteristic of the fetich-worshipers of central Africa, are nevertheless spiritually as foul, just as loathsome and disgusting in the sight of an infinitely pure God. "Man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart," 1 Sam. xvi. 7. Modern missionaries tell us that St. Paul's description of the state of the heathen world eighteen hundred years ago is a true picture of its present condition. Not only do the grossest idolatries and the most abominable licentiousness prevail, but they are "filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful; who, knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them," Rom. xxixi, 29-32. How dark a picture! What a sad state to contemplate! And yet all this shame and wickedness has every missionary of the cross to heathen lands to behold and battle against. To these ignorant, benighted, wandering souls, a lost God has to be discovered, a lost manhood restored, and a lost way to a blissful immortality revealed.

The accomplishment of a work of so great magnitude demands

patient, persevering toil. Changing time-honoured customs, uprooting old prejudices, persuading men to abandon the religion of their fathers and embrace a new faith, is no easy task. Such a work is slow and difficult. It takes no little time, and causes no little sweat to flow. And yet this is not a discouraging feature in the case. God took time to create a world, and shall He not take time to re-create it? He takes time to build up an oak, and shall He not take time to build up manhood? The progress of the Church has been slow, we admit, but then there has been progress, and nothing but progress. Our Leader has never lost a battle, never been compelled to retreat. From the hour He dyed His garments in blood in the fight with the powers of darkness on the cross until the present He has gone on conquering and to conquer. Every apparent defeat has been turned into a glorious triumph. The little stone in Daniel's vision, cut out of the mountain without hands, has already become a great mountain, and may sooner than the most sanguine expect fill the whole earth. The signs of the times plainly indicate that

> "There's a fount about to stream;
> There's a light about to beam;
> There's a warmth about to glow;
> There's a flower about to blow."

The world's wide field is "white already to harvest." All that the Christian reapers have to do is to thrust in the sickle, and golden grain can be garnered almost anywhere. False systems of religion are fast losing hold on the minds of the people. The eyes of nations in heathenish darkness are turning towards Christian Europe and America for light. Mahomedanism, that deadly Upas that has for centuries poisoned the moral atmosphere where Christianity won many of its first triumphs, is dead to its very roots, and its rotten boughs are falling day by day. God hasten the time when its dead trunk shall lay prone in the dust, and its deluded, heartless, persecuting, blood-thirsty votaries shall bend the knee and worship that same Jesus whom they now so much delight to persecute in His people! China's great wall of prejudice is fast crumbling, Japan opens her long closed gates to the gospel herald, Ethiopia is stretching out her hands for help, and the isles of the sea are crying, "We perish with hunger." The great questions now pressing upon the heart of the Church are, How shall these multitudes be reached? Where are the self-sacrificing labourers who will go into these fields and gather their harvests? Where are the Christian men and women, who, taking their lives in their hands, will carry the bread of life to these famishing souls? How can the necessary means be secured for the carrying forward of so expensive a work? For it is a work that demands treasure as well as men.

As society is here constituted, and as all men have temporal

wants that must be supplied, the Church cannot fulfil its grand mission on the earth without money. The work is expensive as well as great. Christ's ambassadors should never hesitate in urging His people blessed with this world's goods to give, and to give liberally, for the support of His cause. For, as the old lady said to Dr. Adam Clark, who seemed somewhat disconcerted when a missionary offering was called for immediately after he had preached a sermon on the freeness of salvation, "Doctor, the water is free, but then we must have a silver cup to carry it in."

Looking particularly at the foreign missionary work, we find it necessarily expensive, for it means nothing less than Christian civilisation, and all know that the bare appliances of Christian civilisation are costly. Every Christian convert in heathendom has been said to cost the Church two hundred pounds. And many look upon this as a small return for the amount expended. But is this a larger sum than is necessary to make our children at home educated men and women? Ought we to expect to make the heathen Christians with less money than those of our own firesides? Let it be remembered that the support of a few missionaries is not all the expense involved in Christianising the heathen. Appliances necessary to make an American a scholar, Christian, and gentleman are required to make a New Zealander or Cafrian the same. They must have churches, and schools, and printing presses, and scientific apparatuses, and libraries, as well as preachers of the gospel. And all these cost money. But, blessed be God, the Church has enough to meet all these demands. Were its membership only awake to their responsibility, did they regard themselves, as they are, stewards of the treasures entrusted to their care, instead of lords of the possessions they control, the Church would no longer be obliged to go begging for money, but it would come pouring into the Lord's treasury in such amounts that those who are now almost continually crying, "*The treasury is depleted, give, give, or our missionaries will suffer, the work must cease, and the unfinished walls will stand as a monument of our illiberality,*" would be constrained to cry out, as did Moses in the wilderness, when he beheld the heap of brass and silver, and gold and gems, brought together for the building of the tabernacle, "*Hold, it is enough.*"

Although men, and professed Christian men, are inclined to give sparingly towards the work of evangelising the heathen, yet, in a worldly point of view, it is a profitable investment. "He that hath pity on the poor lendeth to the Lord; and that which he hath given will He pay him again," Prov. xix. 17. Christian nations, in instances not a few, have realised the fulfilment of this promise in receiving, through commerce, from those nations evangelised, vastly more than their evangelisation cost.

The civilisation of the heathen always creates new wants, that must be supplied from Christian countries. Every Pagan, civilised and christianised, assists in fostering commerce, and thus indirectly pays back what his civilisation and christianisation cost. But how meagre in the eyes of some do commercial advantages appear when compared with knowledge? And in this respect we are largely in debt even to the heathen, among whom our missionaries have laboured. They being men of intelligence and culture, have carefully studied the geography, the botany, the mineralogy, the natural history, the language, the literature, the political economy, and modes of thought of the natives of those countries in which they have laboured, and thus added rare specimens to those cabinets of knowledge to which scholars have access. Hence the theologian, the scientist, the linguist, the statesman, all are more or less benefited by the foreign mission enterprise. Knowledge is increased, and an increase of sanctified knowledge is an increase of power, usefulness, and happiness.

How utterly impossible would it be to measure the influence for good exerted by the missionary labours and explorations of Dr. Livingstone, who threaded his way through the jungles, and along the rivers, and up the table-lands of Africa, until, broken down by labour and exposure, he fell "asleep in Jesus" in that distant land, surrounded by the dark faces of the benighted people he had come to save. Although dead, his works follow him. How greatly is the geographer indebted to him for the patient toil and weary journeys required to settle the long vexed problem of the sources of the Nile? How much the ethnologist, for bringing to light many new and manly races inhabiting the lake country and interior table-lands? How much the philanthropist, for exposing the gigantic slave trade in children, kidnapped round the head-waters of the Nile, and sold annually to the number of not less than twenty-five thousand in Egypt, Arabia, Turkey, and Persia?

But this great work is remunerative in another and higher sense, for thereby God is glorified, Zion's cords lengthened, and undying souls saved. Of how little worth do gold and silver appear, or even human wisdom, by the side of an immortal soul! To "save a soul from death," to rescue it from infinite depths of shame, and to be instrumental in its attainment of happiness perhaps greater than that which an archangel now enjoys, and glory greater than that with which an archangel now is clothed; is not that a sufficient reward for the greatest and most self-denying labours, the largest interest that can be received on monetary investments? If Heaven's jasper walls are built by angelic hands, and by them its gates of pearl hung, and golden pavements laid, and princely palaces reared, rather would I be the means of bringing one soul to the enjoyment of that heaven than to see my name written in burning sapphires as its architect.

In addition to men and money, the fulfilment of the Church's mission demands earnest, believing prayer. "Ask of Me," says the Father to His Son, "and I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession" (Ps. ii. 8). The Father had the disposition to give, but the Son must make the request. His prayers were to prevail. The same assurance given to the God-man with regard to prevailing prayer is given to His Church. "Ask and ye shall receive." The Church's mission is Christ's mission, and in that mission He is not only as deeply interested, but as really engaged as ever. There is an impossibility to separate Christ from His Church. "Ye shall know," said He to His disciples, "that I am in my Father, and ye in Me, and I in you" (John xiv. 20). St. Paul says to the Ephesians that God "gave Him to be the Head over all things to the Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all" (Eph. i. 22, 23). Christ the head—the Church the body. Therefore Christ's life is the Church's life, and His work the Church's work, which must be carried on after the example left by Him while here in the flesh.

Christ was strengthened for his work through prayer. Before engaging in the toils of the day, and encountering the rude collisions of the world, and the fearful wrecks of sin, He prepared Himself for the task by going into some desert-place to pray. He received "daily bread" from His native heaven, by which He "waxed strong in spirit;" and who can tell how much of this was given in answer to earnest prayer? Would the Church of Christ become "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds," much prayer, believing prayer, importunate prayer is an absolute necessity.

> "Prayer was appointed to convey
> The blessings God designs to give."

Through it the Church is invested with an invincible power. It makes the feeblest strong and the most timid brave. Gideon, and Barak, and Samson, and Jeptha, and David were indebted to the prayer of faith for their heroism and successes in battle. The first great triumph of the Church, when three thousand slain of the Lord lay in the dust, crying, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" was won in answer to prayer. By mighty pleadings with God, Luther and his coadjutors broke the spell of ages and laid nations subdued at the foot of the cross. Would we see the angel, which has the everlasting Gospel to preach, speed his flight, his wings must be strengthened by the Church's prayers. Work must be done, but work alone is insufficient. Jesus worked, but at the same time "offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears." The entire night, before the twelve were chosen, was spent in the mountain in prayer. O that the Church

would awake to her great responsibility, that not only her ministry, but her entire membership, would be found more frequent, more earnest in their prayers for the world's conversion; for then we might confidently expect the work in which she is engaged to receive a fresh impetus, and the millenial morning to be near at hand!

We fear that the materialistic drift of the age is manifesting itself in the Church, leading many to unduly emphasise work to the neglect of prayer. Luther's motto, "*Ora et labora,*" should be the motto of every disciple of Jesus. For the Church, in the fulfilment of its mission, demands the "*ora*" not less than the "*labora.*" Mere human forces, multiplied agencies, are not "might nor power" in spiritual work, but an impertinence, unless backed by the Spirit's influences, which we cannot reasonably expect to be done, except there is a compliance with the condition upon which the gift of the Holy Ghost is promised. "If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children; how much more shall the heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him?" God is ever willing to give His gracious Spirit, before whose breath the giant Anakin of error and unbelief, of infidelity and heathenism, will flee as chaff before the wings of the wind; but then we must ask, sincerely, believingly ask. Let the Church besiege God's throne with their prayers, and in the might and power of that Spirit, which will then be given according to promise, march forth to battle, and the time will draw near when our globe will be brought under the mild sway of "the Prince of Peace," upon whose brow will rest the diadem of victory.

> "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun
> Does his successive journeys run;
> His Kingdom stretch from shore to shore,
> Till moons shall wax and wane no more."

How grand the mission of the Church! What a noble life to live, in the service of Christ, and for the regeneration of our race! What a sublime death to die, fighting for humanity and truth, laying aside the armour on earth to wear the crown in heaven!

Soldiers of the Cross, the war-bugle is sounding, calling, "*To arms, to arms!*" Arise, buckle on the divine panoply, unsheath "the sword of the Spirit," unfurl the blood-stained banner, and, under the leadership of "the Captain of the Lord's host," march forth to the moral conquest of the world.

Ambassadors for Christ, by whom God sends His proclamation of pardon to a guilty race, be faithful, be prompt in the delivery of this message of mercy, lest men perish and their blood be required at your hands.

On the Isle of Man there is said to be an old tower in ruins, moss-covered and ivy-crowned, in the midst of which the most

plaintive strains of music are heard at certain times, sung in commemoration of the tragic taking off of one of the governors of that Island. During one of the unhappy wars in which England was engaged this governor was charged with treason and condemned to the scaffold. Before the day of execution his innocency was established, and his monarch thereupon immediately sent him a reprieve. Unfortunately the document fell into the hands of a bitter enemy, who withheld it until after the execution. A pardon was granted, but being withheld, he who should and might have lived died. Through His Church does the Monarch of the Universe send pardon, not to the innocent, but to the guilty race of men; let the message be carried, and that right speedily to all, by those to whom it is entrusted, lest, through their culpable neglect, souls perish for whom Christ died.

D. FELTS, D.D.

ART. VIII.—JOHN ASHWORTH.

AT CUTGATE, two miles from Rochdale, Ashworth was born, July 8th, 1813. Half a century ago many an English village was a social sahara. Cutgate was the Nazareth of the neighbourhood. Of education there was little. Drinking, gambling, rioting, and fighting—bull baits, cock fighting, dog fighting, and trail hunts were indulged in by persons of both sexes and various ages, as harmless pastimes. To some of these John's father was addicted. The moral atmosphere of his home was rendered unhealthy by the father's conduct. The merry cup and the merry company allured him into the pleasures of sense and the gratification of the coarser appetites, for he often came home in the helplessness and imbecility of intoxication. Many a gust of grief swept over the young and tender life of little Johnny, through the poverty and privation occasioned by his father's drinking habits. The mother's other sorrows were minor miseries compared with this, for as one vice suggests and sustains others, she was apprehensive lest the father's conduct should be the doorway which should conduct the boy to reprobacy. Surrounded by such an atmosphere, the wonder is young Ashworth escaped contamination. The Sunday-school and maternal piety were the salt which preserved him from corruption.

The most beautiful thing Johnny's eyes ever beheld was his mother's Christian example. Sanctified thought loved to linger upon her prayers, and clothe with undecaying interest her faith and fortitude amid the wants and woes of a drunkard's home. Most readers of Ashworth's writings are familiar with the following

passage:—"Nothing astonished me more in her character than to see her quiet, steady conduct. Yet a hundredth part of the trials she had to endure would have caused thousands to sit down in hopeless sorrow. I now believe she never went to the sanctuary without a petition, for she never went without a trouble. And I also believe she left many of her troubles behind, because God fulfilled His promise in delivering her. . . . She did not make a loud profession, but meekly and patiently carried her heavy cross under the most grievous privations, sufferings, and persecutions. She never returned evil for evil, or railing for railing. I am perfectly amazed when I think that for forty years she should have borne up under her many and severe trials without repining—so long have drunk her bitter cup without being driven to despair. She was a praying woman, and that explains everything. But she was obliged to pray in secret; and very often her week-night attendance at the means of grace was taken by stealth, or as frequently refused with abuse. Still she held on her way amidst every storm."

The spirit of holiness is the spirit of happiness. Mrs. Ashworth was happy amidst her difficulties. She prefered John coveting Paul's piety rather than Rothschild's riches. She sought to entwine the tendrils of her children's faith and affection around the Crucified One. John had risen early one morning, not aware of any one else in the house having risen before him, and was creeping softly downstairs when he heard a low voice. Sitting on the steps, he listened; his mother was at prayer, and these words fell upon his ear, "Lord bless John, keep him from bad company, and make him a good and useful man." Years afterwards he said, "That short prayer offered by my mother, when she thought no one heard her but God, has been to me a precious legacy."

The Sunday-school was an important power in the formation of his character. When viewing the past from an experience-promontory he wrote, "From the first day I went, to the day I am writing this narrative, I have never left the Sunday-school, and I have had tens of thousands of blessings as a consequence. The Sunday-school has been a blessing to millions, but to none more than myself." "It was the custom in our Sunday-school to give the boy who was first in the class, when the bell rang for closing in the afternoon, a round ticket of merit, bearing a figure one. These tickets were collected once each year, and the boy having the largest number had the most valuable prize presented to him. Teachers, scholars, parents, friends, and members of the congregation assembled in the large schoolroom on Whit-Friday to have tea, and to witness the distribution of prizes. One year I had just one more ticket than any other boy in the school; and in

consequence I was entitled to receive the highest honours. The evening before that memorable day on which I was to receive my prize I was very unhappy on account of my still being without shoes or clogs, and I said to my mother as gently as I could,—'Mother, do you think you could get me a second-hand pair of clogs for to-morrow? I am going to have the highest prize, and I shall have to go up the steps on to the platform, and I shall be ashamed to go with my bare feet.' She replied, 'I have tried to send you there decent. I have tried to borrow a shilling from the publican's wife where your father takes much of his earnings, but she scorned me. I have been to several of our neighbours to ask them to lend me the money, but our well-known poverty seems to have separated us from help.' There are few greater calamities in this world than to be a drunkard's wife, or a drunkard's child. . . The following day I washed my feet for a long time; I was determined that if I could not get anything to cover my ten toes I would make them look clean. I was at the school before the time. . . . The ceremony commenced by singing a hymn. Then one of the superintendents (the present Sir James Kay Shuttleworth) made a speech. . . . . When he came to the first prize he called out my name, and invited me on to the platform amidst a loud clapping of hands. O, how my heart did beat! I felt at that moment as though I would have given twenty pounds if I had possessed them for something with which to cover my feet. . . . I walked blushingly on to the platform and received my reward of merit. But when I got back to my place I sat down and cried as though my heart would break, because I was such a poor, poor boy, and because I thought some of the other boys sneered at my poverty."

Who in that audience conceived that that barefooted boy would take a high place in the ministry of human improvement, lift to the rank and introduce to the fellowship of Christian life scores from the lowest levels of ignorance, poverty, and crime?

Thousands have read the story of the woolsheet pinafore, so full of pathetic interest, and which so graphically pourtrays his early poverty. "One Saturday evening I was playing with my companions when my mother gently laid her hand on my head and requested me to go with her into the house. I took up my marbles and quietly followed her. 'What do you want me for, mother? It is not time to go to bed yet; let me play a little longer, will you?' 'I know it is soon to call you from your play, but I cannot help it. Your trousers want mending, and I want to wash your shirt, for though we are poor we ought to be clean. I intended to get you a pair of clogs, but I am not able. I am making you a pinafore out of part of a woolsheet: it will cover your ragged clothes, and you will then look a little better.' The quiet way in

which she spoke, and the sad look which accompanied her words, subdued all my objections. I silently walked upstairs to allow her to begin washing and mending, and while my playfellows were still laughing and shouting in the street I crept naked into my humble bed, not to sleep, but to think and to weep. My mind wandered far into the future that night. What air-castles I did build. I thought I grew to be a man, entered into business, made money, built a new house with a white door and a brass knocker to it, planted trees around it, and had a lawn and a garden; bought myself new clothes and twenty shirts; bought my mother a new crimson cloak and a new bonnet, and gave her plenty of money to buy clothes for my brothers and sisters, and to get a set of mahogany drawers, an eight-day clock, and muslin curtains to the windows. I then fell asleep a man of great importance, and awoke in the morning without a shirt! Sunday morning always found my mother doing all she could to get us in time for school. She arose the first and lighted the fire, got ready the breakfast, dressed the younger children, and helped us all. This Sunday morning I was going to have on my new 'bishop' to cover my patched garments. I shall never forget that new pinafore. The woolsheets had at that time stamped on them in large black letters the word WOOL. My mother had got one of these old sheets as a gift from the warehouse, but it was so far worn that she could not make my pinafore without either putting on a patch or cutting through the letters. She choose the lesser evil, thinking she could wash out the letters; but though she washed, and washed, and washed again, she could not wash out the remaining half of the word. I put my arms down the sleeves, and was stretching the front, when I saw the letters. My little spirits sank within me in bitter sorrow. I looked into my mother's face, but when I saw the tears in her eyes I instantly said, 'Never mind, mother, never mind; it will do very well. It covers my patches, and when I get to school I will sit on the letters, and then no one will see them. Don't cry, mother, we shall be better off yet.' Away I went to the Sunday-school with bare feet and a pack sheet pinafore, with half the letters WOOL down one side, to take my place in the third Bible class among boys who were much better dressed, and who did not like to sit beside me on that account. I well remember the place where I sat that day; how I put my bare feet under the form to prevent my proud class mates from treading on my toes. The feeling I was poor distressed me."

Ashworth's early and familiar acquaintance with difficulty revealed to him his powers, called forth his energies, tested his principles, and taught him his work. Privation is not unfrequently the nurse of true greatness and a highway to distinction. His early struggles developed and strengthened self-reliance,

patience, and sympathy with suffering. Contact with trial helped to make him the strong, large-hearted, heroic man he was. When quite young he worked as a hand-loom weaver. He gave up weaving and apprenticed himself to a painter. His master's failure necessitated his removal to Rochdale. Here he obtained employment. "Although he could neither paper nor grain he was determined no one should know it but himself, and such was his power and energy of mind to overcome difficulties and make the best of circumstances, that he undertook to do them, and soon became master of both. He said he watched the other men, saw how they did, and by this means was so competent for any kind of work."

In October, 1832, he was married to a respectable and godly young woman, the only daughter of a farmer residing in the neighbourhood. To this union he was largely indebted. Soon after his marriage he joined a debating club, and imbibed sceptical notions. His wife's prayers and pains helped to brush away the cobwebs that obscured his vision. In 1836 that great change commonly denominated conversion took place. He was persecuted and opposed by scoffing work-fellows, but remained loyal to conscience and Christ. Charlotte Bronte says, "We can get nothing in this world worth keeping, not so much as a principle or a conviction, except out of purifying flame or through strengthening peril." Such was Ashworth's experience. From reading certain astronomical works, he doubted the incarnation and humanity of Jesus, and wrote, "For six weeks I never mentioned the name of Christ, and I do not think I ever smiled during that time." One night the gloomy doubts took wing and never returned. Is it possible for an active and enquiring mind always to escape dark doubt and doctrinal difficulty? Does not the honest doubter claim Christian sympathy and forbearance? After his marriage troubles came trooping in from new and unexpected quarters. But his abilities rose superior to adverse circumstances. The obstacles in his path were mere excitatives to exertion. His was not the timid nature that shrinks back from the rugged steeps leading to position, knowledge, and usefulness; but the indomitable and aspiring purpose that sees and grapples with the impediments that roughen its onward way, resolutely working out his aim in spite of toil, disappointment, and opposition. He writes: "When all the hands were told that business was to stop and all work to be suspended till Spring, a sensation of numbness came over my whole body, and I felt it difficult to stand on my feet. I knew it would be all but impossible to get a single day's employment." In this extremity he is offered a provision shop, takes it at a valuation, and in a few days stands behind the counter. Days pass into weeks and weeks into months. The business places burdens on shoulders already overborne. With

blasted prospects, broken purposes, and disappointed hopes, he resumes work as a painter. His wife attends to the shop. On taking stock they find they are fast sinking into ruin, and are determined to stop. Their creditors are consulted, and consent to wait. The business and fixtures are disposed of, to be paid for by instalments. He writes: "Now began the most painful struggle for existence, that lasted for several years. . . . The winter setting in, work again fell away, and we were reduced to the greatest straits. One Saturday we had not one copper in the house, nor one pennyworth of bread, nor one hatfull of coal. It was the day on which the man that succeeded me in business was to pay the second quarter's instalment. In the evening I set out, expecting to receive it and gather a few shillings from some other of the villagers that owed me money." What a night of sorrow! Misfortune rushed in upon him like a mountain torrent. The shopkeeper had fallen down lifeless, and was buried before Ashworth knew that thus a part of his property was swept away. Another creditor on whom he called lay dead in the house. Instead of receiving several shillings towards the payment of pounds owing to him, he had the wild wail of the widow. Calling on a third who owed him two pounds, ten shillings, the wife cried out, "Oh, I am fain you have come. Eawr Joe is deein'; he cannot last long. Do go upstairs, an' read th' Bible, an' pray wi' him, do. An' as for brass for ye; nay, indeed, us noather." Poor Ashworth! At home not one bit of bread, credit closed at the grocer's, the landlord threatening to sell the furniture for debt, and no work to do! But still such bitterness is a tonic. God cannot forget the promise, nor forsake those who hide it in their hearts. Amidst disappointments and difficulties, his trust in God soothed and solaced this child of sorrow. That night on his way home a friend lent him two shillings, eighteen pence of which his wife took to the grocer's, and with the sixpence he procured a barrow of coals. Work is sought in various places without any favourable results. One night the only candle is blown out to save it. He and his wife are sitting in the darkness, when a stranger calls and offers him employment. In three weeks the work is completed, and with the proceeds certain debts are paid and necessaries procured.

He records: "One of the masters in the town came to my employer, requesting he would lend me for a few days to help him to finish some urgent work. The few days extended to several years, and I ultimately became his foreman; and at last he, wishing to retire from business, offered me his entire stock at a valuation, and promised to introduce and recommend me to all his customers. 'How am I pay you the valuation,' I asked; 'You know I have not five pounds in the world.' 'I will trust you, for I think you

are honest,' was his reply. 'How long?' I asked. "Well, I will give you three years, longer if you require it; you paying interest,' was his answer. With much fear and anxiety I accepted the offer, and thus found myself, instead of a journeyman, a master—but a master on credit and without means. . . . Hundreds of times on a Saturday have I been utterly unable to tell how I was to get wages for the men, and I have had to try the patience of my friends."

"My greatest mortification about money matters arose from the conduct of my master. When I took his stock, payment was to be made at periods agreed upon, but as soon as I had a tolerable account to draw he was at my heels. He was a perfect torment, and would walk into my house telling me that he could not, and would not wait, that he had made me what I was, and I ought to pay him and thank him. Often have I found my wife in tears, and on asking the reason, the answer was, 'He has been again.' I well knew who 'he' was! My wife and I agreed, that on the day we paid him the last pound we should have an extra cup of tea." The long looked-for day came at last; the day on which I was able to pay my relentless creditor, and so glad was I, that I was determined not to put the settled paper in my pocket until I had shown it my wife. On entering the room I found three doctors there, who had just finished a consultation and had agreed that the immediate amputation of my dear wife's foot was necessary to save her life. The rapid softening of the ankle-bone rendered this extreme remedy necessary. The operation was borne with calmness and composure; after which she gradually declined, and died in great triumph. "For many years," he says, "I have never been beyond the reach of anxiety, but always on the brink of it, I have had great sickness in my house." His eldest son, a clever, promising young man, a newspaper proprietor, was drowned in Australia; two children died in infancy, one suddenly, the other scalded to death. His only daughter was for many years a confined invalid, and died in 1873. His path was steep and rugged, strewn with thorns and briars, pain and weariness, yet his difficulties brought out the kingliness of his nature, and matured the resources of his being. His life struggles were not so much self-sought and self-inflicted—the penalties due to the transgression of social and commercial law, nor the premiums paid for imprudence, improvidence, or indolence, as divine discipline, designed to call forth some latent energy or develop more fully the soul's nobler life. Poverty, disappointment, and debt presented a formidable front; but his iron will bravely trampled them under foot. His honest purpose, invincible determination, and never-failing courage made him the master of circumstances. By integrity, uprightness, "and indomitable perseverance, he

ultimately succeeded in establishing a good business and forming a respectable connection." Honesty, punctuality, and economy were the rounds in the ladder of elevation. A commercial traveller, staying at a Temperance hotel opposite to his paint shop, enquired of the hostess if she knew such a man as John Ashworth, and, after assuring him she did, he remarked, "I suppose he is one of those men that go up and down preaching, praying, and neglecting his business." To which she replied, "Do you see that shop over there?" pointing to the place. "Yes," he said. "Well, then, every morning at a quarter to six o'clock you will see John Ashworth there, sending his men to their work." In 1867 he retired from the painting business and was induced to identify himself with a machine business in the capacity of assistant. Note the following entries in his diary:—"Made a member of the Manchester Exchange, to represent G—— machine works. Lord, Thou knowest I have not wished this; guide me in the way I ought to go. . . . . Resigned all my right to the premises 56, Drake-street, and all the painting business to my successors. I trust I have been guided right in this matter. . . . My Saturdays now are very easy compared with what they were formerly, when I had wages to find and did not know where; this has been the case hundreds of times, from which I had great mental anxiety. I feel I would rather die than live over again that struggle, struggle, struggle in money matters that I have had for nearly twenty years. I wonder how I have borne it; but God has brought me through."

He was instinctively inclined to live very much for the good of others. His natural benevolence was quickened and intensified by the grace of God. For more than forty years he was usefully identified with the Sunday-school; for more than thirty-five he served his generation as a class-leader and local preacher. What harvests of social and moral improvement have been gathered from the seed scattered in those years. With all his manly strength there was a deep vein of womanly tenderness—"an intensity of sympathy, which made him suffer when others suffered; a tender, delicate, soothing touch which gave him power to reach and unlock the heart, to call out at first sight the inmost confidences of men and women." No form of suffering escaped his notice. By night and day, in heat and cold, rain and sunshine, his every thought, word, and deed was apparently permeated with the desire to mitigate human wretchedness.

Impelled by his wide human sympathies and faith in the providence and fatherhood of God, as the most effectual means of reaching those for whom none seemed to care, he opened his "chapel for the destitute." His philanthropic exertions called forth the most ungenerous opposition and reproach. He was

loving heart, ready to heal that which is broken and strengthen that which is feeble. Many fallen women were among the hundreds who annually came to Mr. A. for relief, counsel, and comfort. In pathetic interest the narrative of Julia, No. 23 of "Strange Tales," is almost incomparable. Take the following from many cases on record: "For providing food and a night's lodging for a young woman, and returning her to her sorrowing family, 2s. 6d. These are amongst the most painful cases. They often reveal early depravity or cruel neglect. Many such, in their moments of penitence or despair, apply to me for help or counsel. I have this day helped one on her way to Leeds, and got another into Hollingworth workhouse. Gave a 1s. to a poor creature about twenty years of age. This fallen person seemed utterly lost. She had come a long way to see me, thinking I might some way help her."

Few men made larger contributions of sympathy and help to the sick. Some of his "sick friends" were confined to beds of suffering for ten, twenty, thirty, forty, and even fifty years. They received him with pleasure and listened to him with respect. They scattered blessings, perfumed with the incense of gratitude and prayer, upon his path.

He travelled yearly thousands of miles on errands of mercy, from John O'Groat's to the Land's End. He talked in a plain, pointed, practical, homely, hearty way to crowded congregations—"young men, husbands, and fathers, young women, wives, and mothers." When on one of these tours it was our joy to listen to and converse with the man who had so signally turned the filtering influences of the Gospel into the polluted streams of humanity, and who had stood upon many a grave of buried faculties, and with a resurrection voice called them forth to life, freedom, and usefulness.

His energy and perseverance are nowhere more powerfully displayed than in the manner in which he procured his first book. When a lad he heard a minister use the word "prerogative." It bothered him; he sought the assistance of an old man in the neighbourhood, saying to him, "What is the meaning of the word prerogative?" He said, "I do not know, and there is nobody in this country knows. Where didst thou hear that?" "Now," said the lad, "is there a book that tells the meaning of words." "There is what they call a Johnson's Dictionary; but there isn't one in this neighbourhood," said he. "Possibly the number-man—the travelling bookseller—may have one when he comes. My father takes in 'Buchan's Domestic Medicine' in parts, and he calls every month." Ashworth says: "The number-man came, and after he had left the part of Buchan, and had gone out, I followed him. I followed him about two hundred yards before I

durst speak to him, and then I called to him from behind, 'I say.' He turned round with, 'What do you say?' and nearly drove all my say out of me. I said, 'Have you a book that tells the meaning of words.' He said, 'Do you mean Johnson's Dictionary?' and I replied, 'Yes.' He said, 'Yes, I have it, how much will you give a month if I bring you one?' The price is two shillings and sixpence: how much can you give a month?' That was a very serious question, and, after hesitating, I replied—stretching to the very utmost I durst—'twopence.' Well, his good nature prevailed; he burst out laughing, and said, 'You shall have it.' Some of you may laugh at the idea of being fast for twopence. Twopence is twopence; it was so with me. I knew my mother had not a farthing to spare, and that she never had what she ought to have. I was determined I would get it somewhere without asking my mother for it. I saw a load of coals thrown down, belonging to an old batchelor, and got them in. Opening his door, I said, 'I have got your coals in.' 'Very well,' he said. I thought, was that all. I swept up the coal and went again, and said, 'James, I have got your coals in.' 'Very well.' I was astonished, I had expected a penny. I went and swept again, and then ventured down the third time. Just as I opened the door out sprang 'James' with an 'Off; I will coals thee if thou comes here again.' I ran up and ran away. I was mortified to an extent I cannot tell. I felt as if I would scatter his coals all over Lancashire if I could. There was a woman in our neighbourhood called Lucy, and sometimes she had to pick up a lad to take her husband's dinner. I went to her and said, 'I will take Jack's dinner three times for a halfpenny.' 'Very well.' Three times there and three times back, six miles for a halfpenny. Four times six are twenty-four miles for my first twopence to pay the first instalment for my first book. . . . . 'I made a bargain with myself I would never pass a word I did not understand without consulting this book, and it was in this way I soon acquired a knowledge of the meaning of words.'"

If the morning shows the day, and the child reveals the future man, then this earnest lad, in his eager pursuit of knowledge, indicates the author of almost world-wide reputation. The productions of his pen caused him to be known and admired in every part of the globe. From 1843 he wrote several fragmentary pieces, marked by considerable merit. One day in 1860, passing through "St. Ann's-square, in Manchester, he met Mr. John Petrie, jun., who noticed that he was looking exceedingly dejected, and, addressing him, said, "John, whatever is to do with you?—you look down and gloomy." He replied, "I never was so fast in my life, or so cast down. I've been to Bremner about publishing the first narrative of 'Strange Tales,' and he says it

will cost £100 to bring it out, and I don't know what to do. I was just thinking of going home and giving it up altogether, as I have not a hundred pounds to spare, and I think it would be wrong in me, in my present position, with my family, to risk the loss of so much money." Seeing him so much dejected, and knowing that he had long set his heart upon the publication of these "Strange Tales," Mr. Petrie said, "Well, if you agree to give me half the profit, should there be any, I will give you the £100, if it is wanted." The expression of his countenance changed in a moment, and his face beamed with delight as he replied, "I will give you one-third." "Agreed," said his friend, and they shook hands to ratify the contract. Addressing Mr. Petrie, he then said, "You have taken a load off my mind. I'll go back to Bremner and tell him to go on with the publishing, as I have found a friend who will find the money." Eighteen months afterwards, or thereabout, Ashworth said to Mr. Petrie, "I have to-day received the first thirty pounds for 'Strange Tales.' I don't know whether you expect some of it or not, but if you do, it is yours." He generously added, "I do not want any; I am glad you have succeeded."

Near four millions of "Strange Tales" are published, and are now circulating not only in the English, but the Swiss, Spanish, Welsh, Dutch, French, and Russian languages. For years Ashworth desired to visit Palestine. In the early part of 1868 he set out for the Holy Land. Outside the gates of Jerusalem a rare pleasure awaited him. A missionary bade him welcome, and informed him that his books were being read by many in Jerusalem with deepest interest. In 1873 he was appointed a representative to the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, held in New York. During his rambles in the land of the Pilgrim Fathers he visited an Indian settlement and was recognised and welcomed as a brother; "Strange Tales" was his passport. In 1871 a copy of an illustrated edition of the first and second series was presented to, and graciously accepted by, her Majesty the Queen.

These narratives, so true to nature, common sense, and the Scriptures, abounding with the finest descriptions, brimfull of pathos, aglow with droll quiet humour, appealing to the noblest and purest instincts of humanity, read in the palace, the lordly hall and lowly home, the study and the workshop, by the learned and the illiterate,—it is no marvel they have quickened the faith and activities of the faithful, and brought wandering spirits back to God. His "Strange Tales," "Simple Records," "Walks in Canaan," and "Back from Canaan," will furnish the moral and mental magnetism which shall mould and govern the better life of thousands in many lands and after ages.

His constitution was a healthy and vigorous one, "difficult to

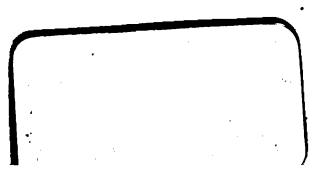
kill;" but despite his abstemious and regular habits, it succumbed to disease. He died a truly Christian death on January 26th, 1875, aged 61 years. THOMAS DAVIES.

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A Book of Marvels; or, Incidents, original and selected, illustrative of Primitive Methodism, Temperance, and other subjects. By the Rev. W. ANTLIFF, D.D. Assisted by numerous contributors. First series. Second edition. London: Primitive Methodist Book Room, &c. 1875.

IT is an inestimably great advantage to a religious community to be rich in traditions of the faith and self-sacrificing labours of its founders and pioneers. This advantage, however, is only possessed by a church which has originated in missionary enterprise and toil, and has, therefore, had to pass through a stage of hardship and struggle. The early history of Wesleyan Methodism has supplied its children with inspiring traditions, written and unwritten, of the heroism, the endurance, the labours and successes of its early ministers and missionaries. Primitive Methodism, with an origin somewhat similar, as far as home missionary work is concerned, has also had a race of men who have endured and toiled for their Master with a zeal truly apostolic, and won triumphs of grace on many a hard-fought field. Which of our younger men have not been fired with fresh courage and zeal as they have heard or read of the prevailing faith of a Clowes and Oxtoby, the self-denial and spirituality of a Bourne, and the mighty preaching of Batty, Flesher, and others! A church which cherishes such memories has within her own bosom the elements of permanent prosperity; and, though she may now and then relapse into a lukewarm state, will manifest wonderful recuperative power, and seldom rest until she recover a measure at least of her original power and glory. The main purpose of this volume is to preserve some of the remarkable incidents of our early history, known by the venerable author and his friends, that had not as yet been recorded. And as the contemporaries of our early missionaries are passing from among us, it was a good idea to collect these facts and give them an abiding habitation before they sank into oblivion. There are to be found here recorded instances of labour and privations, of remarkable conversions and interpositions of Providence, which it would have been a pity to lose, and which may be of use to some future historian of Primitive Methodism. Some of the anecdotes, especially those illustrative of ignorance, might, however, have been left out with advantage, since they seem to be irrelevant to the main purpose of the book, and tend to confirm the unfavourable views which many outsiders take of us and our work. A careful sifting of the material in another edition would enhance the value of the book. It is, however, on the whole, calculated to be useful in encouraging the faith and fanning the zeal of the people of God. Public

speakers may also use it as a treasury from which to draw excellent illustrations. That the first edition of three thousand has been so quickly disposed of, and that this second edition has had to be issued to meet the continued demand for the work, is however, the most conclusive evidence of its popularity and usefulness.

Lightning Flashes; or, Outspoken Truths to Professors of Religion. By SILAS HENN. Author of "Religion in Earnest," &c., &c. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster-row; J. Dickenson, 6, Sutton-str., Commercial-road. 1877.

Mr. Henn is well known as one who, both by tongue and pen, has done a great deal to quicken the spiritual life of the Church. The works which have already proceeded from his prolific pen are marked by intense earnestness and practical power. And this latest work is well fitted to further the end at which the author aims in all his productions, viz., "a revival of Primitive Christianity, of pure religion, or of Scriptural holiness" in the Christian Church. Were all professing Christians to lay to heart the faithful outspoken counsels contained in this volume, they would soon realise a higher-toned piety and greater spiritual power in their life and labours. Mr. Henn lays his finger with unerring certainty on some of the main causes of the spiritual weakness which prevails too extensively in every religious community. Eschewing mere abstractions and generalities which hit no one, he strikes home at the besetting sins of Christian professors—levity, self-indulgence, insincerity, and formalism—which hinder their spiritual growth and rob them of their strength. The reading of this book deepens our conviction that, before the Church can go forth with might to convert the world, she must cease from that worldly conformity which is her bane and weakness, and bear testimony, as of old, by deed as well as word, against the vices and pleasures of the world. Mr. Henn has striven in this volume to awaken the Church from its Delilah sleep. The style and composition of this address is easy and flowing; while for directness, vividness, and electric force, they are indeed "lightning flashes."